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361 ter regions. Therefore there are many villages, walled away one from another by the complicated mountains and lying one above the other on the steps of the stairway. Morelos is, indeed, one of the most densely 162 populated states of Mexico.[1] But the population is one of small villages; there is no town with more than ten thousand inhabitants, and three-quarters of the people live in villages of less than two thousand.[2]

249 The state is entirely agricultural; there is practically 423 no industry. Before the Conquest it was the seat of 175 many Indian villages; these were united in loose economic and political federations, but each had its own patriotism and its own communal lands. The *hacienda* system, which had for its excuse in the north the geographic facts of an unpopulated region with few resources of water supply, lacked similar excuses in Morelos until the introduction of sugar cane. Sugar cane demands the construction of irrigation works and crushing machinery and so requires large-scale production. Because of this (and because of the early assignment of large groups of villages to individual conquerors as *encomiendas*), by 1910 the *hacienda* system had developed further in Morelos than anywhere else; indeed practically all the land belonged to the large estates of a few individuals.[3] Sugar made Morelos a

[1] In 1910, 84.7 inhabitants per square mile, and seventh in density of population among Mexican states, according to the computation from census figures of Wallace Thompson, *The People of Mexico*, p. 72.

[2] McBride, *Land Systems of Mexico*, p. 144.

[3] McBride says that only 140 of 28,000 heads of families were individual property-holders. One large *hacendado* owned seven times as much land as there was in all the small farms (under 1,000 *hectares*), in the state (*op. cit.*, pp. 143–44).

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Sugar made Morelos a 175
contributor to the wealth of Mexico, but it reduced 249
the population to landless peonage. The revolution 423
which began in 1910, especially in Morelos, may be 669
regarded as the conflict between two social-economic systems: the one an ancient Indian tradition of self-sufficient and independent villages enjoying corporate land tenure, and the other a new capitalistic system of large-scale production of a money crop contributory to a world-economy. The agrarian reforms following the revolution broke up some of these estates. Others were kept together and operated by the state in an attempt to preserve the sugar plantations; but many lands where sugar was once grown have reverted to maize.

The northern border of Morelos lies along a part of 133
the rampart which hems in the valley of Mexico. Going south from Mexico City, one climbs this valley wall, the Sierra of Ajusco, at an elevation of nine thousand feet above the sea. Standing upon the southern edge of the escarpment one stands also on the threshold of Morelos. There the rampart drops suddenly away into warm green valleys that go on and down one beyond the other in a maze of slighter mountains that from this eminence are no more than hills.

In each shelf or pocket of the mountains lies a vil- 131
lage, or a cluster of villages. Close underneath the 133
row of peaks[1] which forms the last bulwark of the 361
escarpment is situated Tepoztlán. This village is the

[1] This *sierra*, the southwestern margin of the *cordillera* of Ajusco, extends southeastward to the *pueblo* of Tlayacapan, Morelos. It is composed of basaltic tufa and fine volcanic ash. [35]

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orous defense of Tepoztlán by Tepoztecatl against the attacks of neighboring *pueblos*. These tales and this ritual are but dim echoes of ancient memories, although they constitute an important part of the more ancient lore; they lie upon the margins of attention in the Tepoztlán of today.

A document apparently written in 1580[1] gives some information as to Tepoztlán before and just after the Conquest. The inhabitants sold in neighboring *pueblos* the wood that abounded on their hillsides and the lime to be found in their territory. Their principal industry was the making of paper of fiber obtained from a tree. The name of this commodity (*amatl*) survives today in the name of one of the villages in the valley (Amatlan), and the grooved-stone pulp-beaters used in the ancient industry are among the commonest of pre-Columbian artifacts to be encountered in the valley.

The Spaniard first entered Tepoztlán in 1521. In that year, the same which saw the subjugation of Tenochtitlan, Cortés passed through Tepoztlán on his way to Cuernavaca from Yautepec. "There we found many pretty women and much loot," says Bernal Díaz del Castillo. As certain Yautepec chieftains there seeking refuge would not give themselves up, the Spaniards set fire to half the town.[2] Later, Tepoztlán

[1] The "Relación de Tepoztlán," published by Francisco Plancarte in the *Boletin oficial y revista eclesiastica del obispado de Cuernavaca*, X, 313–17, 326–31, and 348–52, and cited in Miguel Salinas, art., "La Sierra de Tepoztlán," pp. 362 ff.

[2] Bernal Díaz del Castillo, *The Conquest of New Spain*, Book X, chap. cxliv (IV, 67, of the Hakluyt translation).

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was one of the *pueblos* awarded to Cortés as *encomienda*.[1] After his death the village was reputedly the residence of his son, Martin Cortés; and fragments of heavy wall opposite the chapel of La Santísima are pointed out as vestiges of his house.

Tepoztlán was not the seat of resident Catholic missionaries in the first years following the Conquest.[2] The priests of Yautepec and Oaxtepec, too busy in these *pueblos* to give spiritual attention to Tepoztlán, asked the viceroy[3] to send missionaries to Tepoztlán; and some time during the third quarter of the sixteenth century this was done. The region which now forms the state of Morelos was divided into three zones, running from north to south: the western zone was intrusted to the Franciscans, the eastern to the Augustinians, and the central zone to the Dominicans. Tepoztlán fell within the central zone. The Dominicans at once began the conversion of the natives and the construction of the great church and accompanying monastery, which still stand today, little changed.[4]

The conversion of the Tepoztecos was intrusted to Fr. Domingo de la Anunciación. He was a Dominican priest of more than ordinary repute; he had taken part

[1] *Colección de documentos inéditos del Real Archivo de Indias*, XII, 554-63.

[2] A historical sketch of Tepoztlán is included by Miguel Salinas in *op. cit.* His account is based on the "Relación de Tepoztlán," just cited, on an old document then in the possession of José G. González, native and priest of Tepoztlán—two sources not directly available to the present writer—and on information supplied Salinas by residents of the *pueblo*. The historical data included in the rest of this chapter are drawn from Salinas' account.

[3] Luis de Velasco, who held office from 1550 to 1564.

[4] The González document states that the church was completed in 1588.

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175 797 [776] In one of the Spanish expeditions to Florida. Fr. Domingo undertook at once the overthrow of the patron god of the *pueblo*, Ome Tochtli, or Tepoztecatl, a deity of such importance that pilgrims came from as far as Chiapas to visit his altar. Tradition has it that he persuaded the Indians to allow him to put the power of Ome Tochtli to a test. He would hurl the figure from its eminence on the cliff above the valley; if it should be dashed into pieces the natives would acknowledge its lack of divine power. The test was carried out; the idol smashed into fragments on the rocks; these fragments were incorporated into the foundations of the Christian church. The stone cross [778] under the *ahuehuetes* around the well-watered clearing at the place known as Axihtla, at the northern edge of the *pueblo*, is supposed to mark the spot where the first baptisms took place.

175 177 [797] During the early part of the colonial period the forms of Christianity and the few important elements of Spanish material culture—iron, plow, cattle, swine, and fruit trees—became incorporated into an Indian culture that had been stripped by the *padres* of most traits of primitive ritual and belief. The *pueblo* prospered; the streets were improved, new aqueducts built, a walled garden with a bandstand erected in the central square. The first municipal government was installed in 1820. During the nineteenth century periods of prosperity alternated with periods of decline. The old documents report pestilences in 1813, 1814, 1830, and 1833. In 1839 an earthquake shook down

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the towers of the church. Periods of revolution temporarily scattered the people and retarded development.

In the second half of the nineteenth century Tepoztlán reached its highest level of development. This was largely due to the activities of José Guadalupe Rojas, and later members of the same family. Under their influence the schools of the church were supplemented by night schools for adults, an attempt was made to publish a local newspaper; an "academy" was founded for the conduct of discussions in the Nahuatl language. This period of local brilliance coincided with the general peace attending the régime of Díaz. Much of the sophistication attained during this era was lost during the revolution of 1910–21. Then for a time Tepoztlán was entirely depopulated, and intellectuals, such as the members of the Rojas family, never returned.

After the first invasion of conqueror and of priest, it is doubtful if many persons of Spanish blood came to live in Tepoztlán.[1] The contacts with Europeans were effected by the movement of Tepoztecans to Mexico City or to other cities. These movements, frequent and accelerated by periods of revolution, have continued for four centuries. In a straight line—if it

[1] A document in the National Library of Paris, dating from the last decade of the seventeenth century or the first decade of the eighteenth, includes a census of *pueblos* in the Cuernavaca region. This gives for Tepoztlán 885 heads of families (*vecinos*), 2,628 persons (*almas*), that were Indians; 55 heads of families, 223 persons of *otras castas*—no doubt whites and *mestizos* (Manuel Mazari, art., "Un antiguo padrón itinerario del estado de Morelos," p. 151). The amount of white blood probably declined after this period.

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dependents came there, they must at once have constituted an aristocracy of Spanish culture. This must have been but one of a series of periods of development and partial sophistication that were successively interrupted by periods of disorder. There are other fragments of heavy wall at the north side of the town; all memories of their meaning have apparently disappeared. The latest of these eras of order and urbanization was coincident with the Díaz régime. In the middle of the nineteenth century a family of educated people moved to Tepoztlán from another state. This family contributed the priest, a teacher, and several other members of the Tepoztecan intelligentsia. During this period the first secular school was opened. Several attempts were made to publish local newspapers.[1] In 1895 Francisco Rodriguez, a Tepoztecan who was educated as an engineer, called the attention of the scientific world to the large pre-Columbian temple situated above the town, and reported upon it to the International Congress of Americanists.[2] The work of excavation was done largely by Tepoztecan volunteers. A museum was established in

[1] "More than a half a century ago, nevertheless, literary productions were published in Tepoztlán; nevertheless, the press has hardly been introduced to the population. We remember, for example, 'El Xocoyotzin' of Don José Guadalupe Rojas,—a man never well understood,—a small periodical which was devoted to adult and infant education. A little later, with the introduction of a press in 1882, appeared in the public light 'El Liliputiense,' 'El Mosquito,' 'El Grano de Arena' and still others which were devoted to the development of culture and the illumination of the people" (*El Tepozteco*, a newspaper published by Tepoztecos in Mexico City in 1921, issue of October 1).

[2] F. Rodriguez, art., "Descripción de la pyramide llamada Casa del Tepozteco. . . . ."

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one of the public buildings. German and North American scientists visited the archaeological ruins and incidentally the town; indeed, the railroad ran special excursion trains to El Parque.

This period of brilliance, like, no doubt, other earlier periods of the sort, was terminated by revolution—that of 1910. Perhaps no other part of Mexico was so swept by the fury of war as was Morelos. For years this state was the scene of sanguinary encounters between Zapatistas and Carranzistas. The railroads were torn up, the sugar mills destroyed, and most of the cattle exterminated. During almost two years Tepoztlán was entirely depopulated except when federal or Zapatista troops occupied the town. Almost all the more substantial houses were partly or entirely destroyed. The little museum was wrecked and its contents scattered. After people began to return, there was a long period of suffering from famine and sickness.[1]

[1] A Zapatista soldier who spent eight years in the campaign, part of this time in the neighborhood of Tepoztlán, his home, described the period thus: "In the time of the revolution, for a long period, Tepoztlán was entirely depopulated. The people went to Mexico, or to the hills. The hills north of the town are full of caves where people lived. Some built lean-tos of cornstalks under big trees. For a time there was enough food. We used to come down from the hills at night to get corn. If there was anybody in the town, it would be Federal troops. We would go very quietly, listening. If we heard nothing, we entered and took the corn. The people who owned fruit trees would come down from the hills by night to rob their own trees.

"The hills were the populated places, the towns the wild places. So we went into the towns to hunt. One day we were out of food. My colonel asked me and some others to get a deer. But I said, 'There are no more deer in the hills. We must go to the towns for a deer.' So we went down into Santiago and there, among the banana trees, we found and killed a deer.

"Later on the food gave out. The cows and bulls had been hunted down and

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175 669 722 [369] [167] During this period there were no civilians in Tepoztlán. Many of the men joined the forces of Zapata. To those who did not was presented the choice of fleeing to the hills or of going to one of the cities, usually Mexico City, where security was greater. The people who were already used to the city and who were more likely to have friends there and to have the money necessary to become established there, went to the city. The poorer people, who were also those least used to city ways, were the ones who went to the hills. Hill exile was a life of isolation, a life of rumor, of reliance upon the most primitive techniques of maintenance.[1]

[722] [728] killed; the corn was eaten up. If an orange was found it was taken quickly and eaten green. Many, many died of hunger, both soldiers and non-combatants. When, after this time, food was obtained again, some died because they ate too much. We began with a half a *tortilla* at a time, and so escaped death from gorging."

[1] A *tonto* of the *barrio* of San Sebastian tells of his experiences: "Times were very horrible during the revolution. At first people stayed in Tepoztlán. J. C. [a *correcto*] was not there, but his father stayed at first, until it grew too bad; and then he too went to Mexico City. Tepoztlán was deserted for two years. The soldiers came and ate the corn, and killed all the animals. The Carranzistas killed what they didn't want to eat; not an animal was left. The troops came at last to eat dogs and cats, there was so little food. No one was safe. Many were killed, and not even buried. If the Carranzistas saw anyone, they shot him without any question.

"Many went to the cities, some to the hills. I went to the hills with my family. There were my father, my mother, and seven brothers. I was sixteen. We lived in a cave in the heights, in that direction [toward Yautepec]. We took the *metates* along. But we had no animals; we carried everything ourselves. We lived by what food we could find in the hills or in the towns, and by what we could sell in Mexico City. We used to carry fruit to Mexico to sell. Fruit was very expensive there. We sold limes at ten *pesos* a hundred. If you could just get a hold of a thousand limes and bring them to Mexico City, you had a hundred *pesos*. We took avocados too. We traveled only at night. It took two nights. When dawn came we camped somewhere in the hills beyond Tres Marías. Xochimilco was the bad place to go through; the Carranzistas waited there and killed many. We brought back soap and salt.

[164] "Then the fever came. Three of my brothers died. Bury them there? No, we

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City exile brought the *émigrés* into competition with the people of the city, and so further sophisticated them. So it was that when after a period of years the inhabitants returned to rebuild their homes the difference between *tontos* and *correctos* had in the meantime been made more distinct.

These periods of exodus to the city render acute the growing self-consciousness of *los correctos*. *Los tontos* live, in spite of revolutions, in the same single mental world of the folk culture. *Los correctos*, on the other hand, develop an intelligentsia who live in two worlds, in two cultures, the city and the folk, and are correspondingly restless and often unhappy. The periods of revolution[1] sharpen the self-consciousness of this intelligentsia; drawn together as temporary expatriates, they idealize their home community and at the same time deprecate its shortcomings. This dissatisfaction and unrest finds an expression in programs of reform.

In April, 1920, the expatriated Tepoztecos in Mex-

brought them to the cemetery at Tepoztlán. We came down by night. It took about four hours. We took turns carrying the body. We had to bury without coffins, just *petates*. We made three such trips, each time getting back to the hills before dawn.

"Afterward, when people came back to Tepoztlán, all the animals had been killed and there was no corn left. Many died of hunger and the sickness came. Eight or nine died each day. P. R. lived in the house just across from us in San Sebastian. He was killed in the revolution. He left his wife and seven little children. They all died one after another. They wanted just a *tortilla*, but there wasn't enough.

[1] A minor period of decline occurred in 1928. Residents of Tepoztlán who belonged to the radical agrarian party started a local rebellion in which Tepoztecans were killed. Rebel activity was general in Morelos, and some Tepoztecan *correctos* went to the city.

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most religious and conservative and, according to our study of wealth distribution, it is also the poorest. This does not justify Redfield's statement that the barrios have "obviously different cultures," or that "the members of a barrio tend to think and act alike." Indeed, the absence of distinct barrio traditions was striking. No one could be found who knew the history of his barrio. No one knew when the barrio chapel had been built or when the milpa of the chapel had been obtained.

During the Díaz regime, the distinction between the larger and smaller barrios in terms of those of the center and those of the periphery corresponded in some degree to class distinction, since most of the well-to-do *caciques* and merchants lived in the center. Strictly speaking, however, even this distinction was not accurate, since all the larger barrios had their share of the poor and illiterate; and, as we have already seen, parts of the larger barrios are almost as far from the plaza as the most distant smaller ones.

The general tendency since the Revolution, especially during the past twenty years, has been the diminishing of barrio differences. Today an approximately equal distribution of well-to-do and acculturated families are to be found in all the barrios. In fact, Los Reyes, one of the smaller barrios, showed the highest proportion of landholding families. The various barrios now participate much more equally in village life. The distribution of services is no longer limited to the center. By 1943 there were about ten small stores and a few barber shops scattered among the barrios. Similarly, in contrast to Redfield's finding in 1926 that no letters went to the outlying barrios, San Pedro and Los Reyes now receive their share of the mail. It is also doubtful whether there are at present any significant differences in literacy on a barrio basis. Today the contacts between the outlying barrios and the outside is much less mediated through the center. We discovered just as large a percentage of young people from the smaller barrio as from the larger who have gone to study outside of the village. And certainly Redfield's characterization—the smaller as barrios of *tontos*, the larger as barrios of *correctos*—does not apply now.[24]

POPULATION

Tepoztlán had a population of 3,230 according to the Mexican Federal Census of 1940. In 1942 a local census of the village taken by schoolteachers and officials showed a population of 3,517, and by 1947 the population was well over four thousand. It is apparent that the Tepoztecan population, like that of Mexico as a whole, is increasing rapidly.

SIZE AND GROWTH

While we have no exact data on the size of the Tepoztecan population at the time of the Conquest, there is evidence which suggests that it was considerably larger than the present-day population and in fact larger than at any time since the Conquest. The earliest materials from which a reliable population estimate can

[24] For a critical discussion of Redfield's distinction between *tontos* and *correctos*, see Chapter 21, "Summary and Conclusions," p. 430.

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be made date back to about forty years after the Conquest and are found in an unpublished document in the archives of the Indies, cited by Cook and Simpson in their recent study of population changes in central Mexico.[25] These writers give the tribute value for Tepoztlán for 1560 and 1567 as 1,150 and 2,718½ pesos, respectively. Since the assessment at this time was one peso per family head, it is possible to calculate the population. The figure for 1567 is taken as the more reliable one by Cook and Simpson, who point out that the earlier figure was purposely depressed by the Marqués del Valle and his agents to rob the Crown of income.[26] Following the procedure of these same authors in assuming four as the average size of a family, we find that Tepoztlán had a total population of 10,874 in about 1567.[27] This population of 10,874 must refer to the municipio as a whole, rather than to the village of Tepoztlán proper, because it was customary at the time to include the surrounding villages as tributaries of Tepoztlán. But even so, it is the highest figure for Tepoztecan population that has ever been recorded. If we were to judge Tepoztlán by the findings of Cook and Simpson, which indicate that the population of central Mexico as a whole declined by sixty per cent from 1519 to 1570, then the pre-Conquest population of Tepoztlán would have to be put at over 17,000. However, this seems improbable, considering the limited natural resources of the municipio of Tepoztlán.[28] In all probability the decline in the Tepoztecan population during the first forty years after the Conquest was not nearly as great as in other parts of this area, for Tepoztlán suffered no military losses from the Conquest itself, and it was not until the middle thirties and forties that they began to feel seriously the impact of Spanish rule. As we shall see, the large population losses in Tepoztlán occurred later.

Our next bit of evidence on population is found in the work of López de Velasco[29] for the years 1571-73, when Tepoztlán is said to have had 2,600 tributaries, which would give it a population of 10,400. Although Velasco specifically writes of "la villa de Tepuztlan," the number of tributaries undoubtedly refers to Tepoztlán and its surrounding villages. In a document dated 1576 (in the Archivo General de la Nación, México, General de Parte L, 238) quoted by Zavala[30] we

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[25] Cook and Simpson, "The Population of Central Mexico," *Ibero-Americana*, Vol. XXXI (1948).

[26] *Ibid.*, p. 5.

[27] Cook and Simpson believe the 1567 date refers to conditions at about 1560. They write, "The inventory is based upon the real assessments made prior to 1567, and the values there given may, with no great risk of overstatement, be taken as the real values of 1560." *Ibid.*

[28] Recent studies of sample areas in central Mexico suggest an amazingly high pre-Conquest population. Areas which presumably had a population density of almost 600 persons per square mile now show a population density of 38 persons per square mile. See Cook, "Soil Erosion and Population in Central Mexico," *Ibero-Americana*, Vol. XXXIV, 1949.

[29] Juan López de Velasco, *Geografía y Descripción Universal de las Indias* (Madrid, 1894), p. 204. It is interesting to note how Tepoztlán compared in size with some of the nearby towns. Cuernavaca had 26,800 inhabitants; Yautepec, 18,000; Huaxtepec, 36,000. All of these towns, smaller today, are still larger than Tepoztlán.

[30] Silvio Zavala y María Castelo, *Fuentes para la Historia del Trabajo en Nueva España*, Bk. I (México: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1939), pp. 144–45.

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are told that the villages of Tepoztlán had 3,000 taxpaying Indians. However, this estimate appears in a petition by nearby *hacendados* for additional labor from the Indian villages and can therefore be presumed to be an overstatement of the actual number.

A much more reliable source of data is a document dated 1580 which gives the number of heads of families, widows, and single adults in each of the six surrounding villages of the municipio. From this document we find that the population of Tepoztlán proper was 5,865 and that of the entire municipio, 7,613.[31] This indicates either a considerable loss in population during the seventies, or that the earlier estimates were excessive. However, other sources tend to confirm the fact that the population was declining rapidly. For example, a document dated July 11, 1590, states, "In the last recount made among the people of the mentioned village there were fifteen hundred and eighty-one taxpayers, including widows and old maids."[32] The same document states that sixty-three Indians would have to give service, based on the tax rate of four men out of every hundred, which means 1,575 taxpayers or a total population of about 6,300. Thus, within the thirty-year period from 1560 to 1590 the population had decreased by over forty per cent. The major causes of this decline were epidemics, reported during the sixties, seventies, and eighties; the losses from the work in the mines of Taxco and Cuautla; and the moving away of Tepoztecans who sought to avoid the high taxes.

Our next data on population are for 1807, when a local census of the village of Tepoztlán was made. This census is especially interesting because of its inclusiveness; it gives us our first mention of the present-day barrios and the names of individuals and house sites by barrios.[33] This census shows a population of 2,540. This means that in the 228-year period from 1579 to 1807 the population of the village of Tepoztlán dropped by 3,284 or 56 per cent.

The nineteenth century was a period of population increase for Tepoztlán, in fact, for the first time since the Conquest. In 1890 the population of the village had risen to 4,163 and that of the municipio as a whole to 8,589.[34] This was the nearest approach to the early colonial and pre-Hispanic population. However, this remarkable comeback was destined to be short-lived, for the Revolution of 1910-20 was especially hard on Tepoztlán. According to the census of 1921 the village population was down to 2,156 and that of the municipio was three thousand.

Since 1921 the population has been increasing rapidly. By 1930 the population of the village was up to 2,580, an increase of 19.7 per cent, and from 1930 to 1940 there was a 29 per cent increase. This rate of increase was much higher than that of Mexico as a whole, which was 18.7 for the same period, and the highest re-

[31] *Indios*, Vol. 1, Exp. 252.
[32] *Ibid.*, Vol. 4, Exp. 797.
[33] *Hospital de Jesús*, Leg. 356, Exp. 8. A careful search of the census of 1793 of Revillagigedo failed to bring to light any data on Tepoztlán. However, the Ramo de Censo does show a map of the municipio of Tepoztlán with its seven surrounding villages.
[34] Alfonso Luis Velasco, *Geografía y Estadística de la República Mexicana*, Bk. VIII (1890), p. 57.

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corded for a ten-year period. However, it was not quite as high as the increase for the state of Morelos, which was 36.3 for the same ten-year period.[88]

In analyzing the reasons for the recent rapid rise in the Tepoztecan population we must consider the decades 1920-30 and 1930-40 separately, for the factors at work were distinct. During 1920-30 Tepoztlán was going through a transition period, struggling to get back to normalcy after the devastating effects of the Revolution when practically the entire population was forced to flee. It is therefore probable that the 19 per cent increase in population during 1920-30 was due to the influx of returning families from their forced exile, in addition to the rate of natural increase. After 1930 few families returned to the village. On the contrary individuals began to leave, especially after the construction of the new road in 1936 and increased contacts with the outside. The increase of 29 per cent between 1930-40 must therefore be explained primarily in terms of the sharp decline in the mortality rates, especially infant mortality. This point will be treated later.

In reviewing the history of population growth in Tepoztlán we can distinguish four major periods: two of decline and two of increase. The first period was one of decline following the Conquest. We have suggested that, unlike the findings for central Mexico as a whole where the sharpest decline occurred within the first fifty years after the Conquest, this process in Tepoztlán was delayed and decline did not set in heavily until after 1560. From 1560 to 1804 there was a decline of over 70 per cent. The reasons for this decline have already been mentioned. The second period was one of rapid growth during the nineteenth century and up to 1910. The third period was again one of sharp decline until 1921. And the fourth period has been one of rapid increase. By and large the population curve for Tepoztlán is very much like that of Mexico as a whole and is stark testimony to the many upheavals suffered by Tepoztlán and the nation.

TABLE 4. Population of Tepoztlán and Surrounding Villages of the Municipio.

Village	1579	1890	1940
Tepoztlán	5,824	4,163	3,230
Santa Catarina	238	1,214	991
San Andrés	235	781	317
Santiago	385	276	216
Amatlán	481	211	162
Santo Domingo	233	1,114	444
San Juan	176	676	499
Ixcatepec	—*	154	111
El Parque	—	—	64
Total	7,572	8,589	6,034

* Ixcatepec became a separate village in the early part of the eighteenth century. Formerly it was considered a barrio of Tepoztlán.

Before leaving the subject of population changes, it might be well to summarize and compare the relative concentration of the population of Tepoztlán proper and the surrounding villages since the sixteenth century. This is shown in Table 4.

[88] Whetten, *Rural Mexico*, p. 39.

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It can be seen from Table 4 that the population history of each of the villages has been quite varied. Perhaps the most striking thing about these figures is the much greater concentration of population in Tepoztlán (76 per cent of the total in 1579 as against 48 per cent of the total in 1890 and as compared with 1940). This difference may reflect the early Spanish policy of attempting to concentrate as many people as possible in a central administrative town where control was easier.

SEX AND AGE DISTRIBUTION

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The 1940 sex and age distribution of the population shows a perfectly even distribution by sexes, with 1,615 men and 1,615 women. These figures do not agree with data from the local village census of 1943 with which I have worked and which seem much more reliable. According to this census there was a total population of 3,517, with 1,851 men and 1,666 women. That there are more men than women in the population is also supported by the data on the distribution of recorded births by sex in the village over a ten-year period from 1933 through 1942. From a total of 2,676 recorded births, 1,391 or 52 per cent were male and 1,285 or 48 per cent were female.

A comparison of the age distribution of Tepoztlán with that of rural Mexico as a whole reveals some interesting factors. (See Table 5.)

TABLE 5. Comparison of Distribution of Tepoztecan Population with Population of Rural Mexico by Age Group.

Age Group	Per Cent of Total Population	
	Tepoztlán	Rural Mexico
Under 5	13.03	15.3
5-9	15.75	15.1
10-14	14.24	12.5
15-19	10.17	10.0
20-24	4.48	7.6
25-29	5.47	7.9
30-34	5.94	6.5
35-39	7.23	6.8
40-44	4.54	4.6
45-49	4.24	3.7
50-54	3.86	2.9
55-59	3.28	2.1
60-64	2.66	2.1
65-69	1.79	1.1
70-74	0.98	0.8
75-79	0.74	0.4
80-84	0.68	0.3
85-89	0.27	0.1
90 and over	—	0.1

On the whole, Tepoztecan figures follow national figures closely. Thus, 28.8 per cent of the Tepoztecan population is less than ten years of age as compared with 30.4 for all of rural Mexico. However, there is a striking difference in the distribution for the age groups from 20 to 30 years. The Tepoztecan figures are

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THE VILLAGE AND THE MUNICIPIO

The relations of the village with the municipio are closer and more personal than those with any of the larger units discussed so far. Tepoztecans know the municipio intimately—they know its topography, history, legends, natural resources, people, and villages. Even small children can name the seven villages, and know the way to each. The limits of the municipio are also well known, as are the details of the many recurring boundary disputes with neighboring municipios. It is within the bounds of the municipio that the every-day world of the Tepoztecan exists. Here the farmers work the communal lands, cut and burn the communal forests, graze their cattle, hunt for medicinal herbs, and attend village fiestas.

The fact that the village of Tepoztlán is the *cabecera* of the municipio gives Tepoztecans a sense of pride and superiority over residents of the remaining villages. Tepoztlán has for centuries had a dominant position in relation to the other villages.

In treating of the units larger than the municipio, we have spoken about cultural factors and have dealt with history within that category. In the case of the municipio, the historical factor is much more important and deserves special consideration. Although the state of Morelos is a relatively recent political entity dating from 1867, the political and geographical unit equivalent to the present-day municipio dates back over four hundred years to the pre-Hispanic era.

According to a legend in Tepoztlán concerning the formation of the municipio, the surrounding villages were originally defensive military outposts of the central village of Tepoztlán where political control rested. Before the Spanish Conquest, Tepoztlán was frequently at war with the surrounding towns and, therefore, needed outposts to hold off surprise attacks. Only in this way can present-day Tepoztecans explain the location of San Juan in a place that has no water supply.

While we have no reliable historical data on the origins of the municipio as such, there is no question but that six of the seven present-day villages existed before the Conquest and that the present-day boundaries of the municipio are about the same as those before the Conquest. The geographical unit represented by the present-day municipio is therefore an ancient one.[3]

Before the Conquest, Tepoztlán was a semi-independent *señorío* (kingdom) which was administratively subject to Huaxtepec. Tepoztlán with its surrounding

[3] In *Relación*, pp. 238-39, the six outlying villages are referred to as *estancias* of Tepoztlán and are named and described as follows:

"The *estancia* of Santiago, called Tepetlapan, which is one of the six *estancias* of the said town, is toward the south, in the direction of Yautepeque. They say it is so named because it is built on coarse rock, which is called Tepetate. . . .

"The *estancia* of Santa María Magdalena, which is the second *estancia* of the six, and is a little to the east of this town, they say is called Cimatlen (Amatlán) because in ancient times they had there an idol which they worshipped which they called Ometecatl, and which acknowledged homage to the devil (*sic*) of Tepoztlán.

"And the *estancia* of Santo Domingo, third of the six, which stands sloping a little to the north of this town, they say is called Xocotitlán now and formerly Elosuchitlan, which means land of

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175 villages is always listed as a single unit in the tax lists and in the early colonial 631 documents. It appears as such in the *Matrículo de Tributos de Moctezuma*, a copy of which was obtained by the first viceroy of Mexico, Mendoza. Its relation to "Huastepeque" is also given in the *Relación de Tepuztlan* of 1580 and in later documents. After the Conquest, the older administrative lines were altered and Tepoztlán became subject to Cuernavaca, its ancient enemy.

[628] We know very little about the relations between Tepoztlán and the other villages of the municipio after the Conquest, but some documents suggest considerable friction. In a document from the *Hospital de Jesús*, dated January 19, 1774, we learn that the governor of Tepoztlán complained to the authorities in Cuernavaca that four of the villages traditionally subject to Tepoztlán had recently rebelled and had obtained the privilege of paying taxes separately.

628 The bonds between Tepoztlán and the surrounding villages of the municipio 631 are numerous. The communal lands which belong to the municipio, the inter-[187] village trade, the bi-weekly market at Tepoztlán are the strongest economic bonds. Administratively, Tepoztlán is the center to which the other villagers must come to register births, marriages, and deaths; to pay taxes, federal and state; or to get a certificate of good conduct. The villagers are also dependent upon Tepoztlán for [793] their religious services, baptisms, communions, Mass, and confession, for only Tepoztlán has a resident priest. The priest visits each village once or twice a year on the occasion of the village fiesta. The fiesta system also brings the villagers together, for there is much inter-village visiting on such occasions.

[608] Tepoztlán is also related to the surrounding villages by ties of *compadrazgo*. In almost all cases, however, the dominant position of Tepoztlán is reflected by the fact that the other villagers seek out Tepoztecans as godparents and not vice versa. Although Tepoztecans have many godchildren in the surrounding villages, the converse is not true.

[582] Ties of marriage within the municipio are surprisingly weak. In all there are less than a dozen individuals from other villages in the municipio married into Tepoztlán. Cases of Tepoztecans going to live in the smaller villages are practically unheard of. There are more marriages between Tepoztecans and people from villages outside of the municipio than within it.

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103 flowers like ears of corn, which in the Mexican language are called *elotl*, and Xocotitlán because there are some fruits there which are called *guayabas*.

"The *estancia* of San Juan, which is in the direction of Mexico City and at the northern part of this town, is called Tepecuytlapilco, as they say because it is situated at the top of a hill, for so it signifies in the Spanish language.

"And the *estancia* of Santa Catalina, which is in the direction of Cuernavaca and at the eastern part of this town, they say it is called Cacatepetlac because it is built upon coarse rock and as it is of little use for growing things; the grass is short and this is what it means in the Spanish language.

"The *estancia* of San Andrés, which is the sixth and last of all, and stands among some hills to the south of this town, they say is called Alacueyacan (Atlacueyacan) in the Mexican tongue, which in the Spanish means land which was surrounded by reeds or place where many reeds grow, for it appears that formerly there were many there."

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3 status distinctions and family organization:

175 565 In this pre-Hispanic period Tepoztlán was a highly stratified society, with a few *principales* (ruling families) on the top of the social pyramid and the mass of *maceguales* (commoners) at the bottom. The *Relación* tells us something about class relations and gives us a picture that agrees quite closely with our knowledge of the structure of Aztec society at the time of the Conquest.[1]

631 642 The [Tepoztecans] recognized only two *principales;* one called *chichemeca hucytzin tecutli* and the other *cacameteutli,* until they became a *señorío* of Moctezuma, a fact recognized by their tribute of paper; and to the two *principales* they paid no regular tribute, except what they asked. They worked their lands, built houses and made clothing and gave them fowl and all that they needed.

When the lords who governed them went into the street [carried in litters] no one, man, woman, or child, was to appear on the street, except for the *principales* who accompanied them, and if perchance someone passed by, he was ordered punished; and in case this was not feasible, the said Indian threw himself to the ground, and asked pardon . . . and to have any dealings [with the lords] they did not approach them directly, but went to one of their *principales* who had the position of judges, one of whom was called *Tlacuhcalcatzintle* and the other *Tecpancatzintle* and the other *Cuacoatzintle.* . . .

175 565 631 642 After the Spanish Conquest the social structure was modified considerably, but the old hierarchal arrangements persisted—except that the political and religious power was transferred to the new ruling group represented by the Spaniards. In Tepoztlán many of the old *principales* were maintained in power by the conquerors and were incorporated into the new administrative apparatus. Judging from early colonial documents, the local bureaucracy during the second half of the sixteenth century was very large, certainly much larger than the present bureaucracy, and in all probability larger than the pre-Hispanic one. In 1579 we find almost one hundred individuals on the official payroll of the municipio, as compared to less than twenty today.

The independence of Mexico from Spain in the early part of the nineteenth cen-

[1] *Relación,* pp. 241, 242.

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tury seemed to have little effect on Tepoztecan internal structure. The political life of the village continued in the hands of families who represented a mixture of the old *principales* and the new Spanish elite.

During the Díaz regime the domination of the village by the upper *cacique* group reached its peak, and class distinctions were marked. The *caciques* owned most of the privately held land, controlled the communal lands of the municipio and the local government, and formed an elite group who had social contacts with the elite of Cuernavaca and even of Mexico City. They were set apart from the rest of the village population by their large and more elaborate homes located in the center of the village, their urban styled clothing, their literacy and superior education. Vicente Ortega, the *cacique* in power almost until the outbreak of the Revolution, was a *compadre* of the governor of the state of Morelos, and served as a representative to the state legislature; and other leading Tepoztecans achieved high positions in the state administrative hierarchy.

The Revolution transformed the social structure of the village. The upper or *cacique* families fled the village for their lives and lost most of their wealth, particularly their cattle and artisan shops. The poor who remained also had to leave the village repeatedly, and sought refuge in the surrounding *cerros* when government troops were approaching. Once peace was restored, the families slowly began to return to the village. Some of the *caciques* or their sons also returned to take up residence in their battered or burned homes. It was necessary for all, rich and poor, to begin life anew and build back to normalcy. But they were building within a new social framework. The participation of the villagers in the ranks of the Zapatista forces, the revolutionary slogans of "land and liberty" and "down with the *caciques*" had left its imprint on the psychology of the people and acted as a distinct levelling influence. The political dominance of the *caciques* was gone. And a fundamental economic change had occurred, for the communal lands of the municipio, which constituted about eighty per cent of all the lands, were again available to the villagers. By 1930 the village had also recovered its *ejido* from one of the nearby haciendas, further broadening the land base in the village.

FACTORS IN STATUS

Today, class distinctions in Tepoztlán are much less marked; the former economic and social bases for class distinctions are gone.[2] But there are numerous status distinctions in the village, and the possibility of some future development of sharper stratification on the basis of wealth can be seen. It might be more accurate to describe present-day Tepoztlán as an incipient class society.[3] Sex, age, and kinship

[2] Memory of former class distinctions remains and exerts some influence. The expression, "He is the son of a *cacique* family," was used repeatedly by our informants.

[3] The term "class" is used here in the traditional sense to distinguish between broad social groupings differentiated from other groupings by their relationship to the process of production, by occupational distinctions, income levels, and a sense of social distance that makes for cohesive social groups over a period of time. In this definition I follow MacIver who writes, "It is the sense of status, sustained by economic, political, or ecclesiastical power and by the distan

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433 But despite this roster of familiar traits, the Tepoztecan economic system is quite distinctive and defies easy classification in terms of our traditional categories, such as capitalistic or feudal. For side by side with the above traits are less familiar ones such as communal land-ownership, collective labor, hoe culture, production primarily for subsistence, barter, the absence of credit institutions, the lack of capital, the fear of displaying wealth, and the continued importance of religion and ritual in economic pursuits.

174 433 A complicating factor, and in terms of our own society a differentiating one, is that the Tepoztecan economy and technology represent a fusion of elements from three distinct historical levels: the pre-Hispanic, the Spanish colonial, and the modern western European. Furthermore, it is not always possible to ascertain with assurance which trait belongs to which level. While some traits are found in both the pre-Hispanic and post-Conquest periods, the function and meaning of the trait would seem to have been so different in the total economies of these distinct periods that equating the two is hardly justified. For example, while private property in land may have existed before the Conquest, it is questionable whether it was widespread or played the same role in the total economy and in the aspirations of the people that it does today. And though wealth differences undoubtedly existed at that time, the criteria of wealth as well as its distribution were probably very different from the present. Also, while the market system is probably pre-Hispanic there is a world of difference between the present-day market, which reflects international price changes, and the more localized pre-Hispanic markets.

PRE-CONQUEST AND SPANISH-COLONIAL ECONOMY

172 433 Specific data on the pre-Conquest economics of Tepoztlán are quite limited. The archeological evidence indicates the presence of potsherds from distant areas of Mexico and would therefore suggest wide trading contacts.

Archaeological research carried out in Tepoztlán in 1942-43 by Miss Florencia Muller revealed six ceramic levels and indicated similarities in ceramics with southern Morelos, Vera Cruz, Teotihuacan, Monte Albán, and points even farther south.[1]

175 433 The *Relación* suggests that Tepoztlán was a stratified society of nobles and commoners, not unlike Aztec society, with class differences affecting diet, clothing, marriage customs, and other aspects of life. It also contains scattered references which give us some idea of local foods, industries, and other economic pursuits. The following excerpts contain the pertinent data.

> . . . and they had wars with those of the town of *Capihtlan* and of the town of *Cuauhtinava*, and they fought with their feathered weapons and beneath their *escuahupiles* of quilted cotton, and the garments of feathers, some like lions and others like tigers, and others like birds, with their wide wooden sabres, like swords, and the blades were of flint that they might cut, and their bucklers of feathers and others with their bows and

[1] I am grateful to Miss Muller for the summary of her findings; see Appendix B, p. 453.

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arrows, and others with their slings with which they threw very large stones and others with *maporros,* and others fought with weapons like pikes made of oaken staves, four-cornered, and those who were vassals wore only cloths of *nequen,* which is made from the maguey, and their wide breeches on their *verguilacos,* and the chieftain wore a cloth of white cotton, with his fine cloak, and he who wore such had to be a brave man, and if he were not known for such, they killed him straightway, and they wore nothing else, and the garment which they now wear is of cloth covered with painted stripes, each one according to his ability and opportunity, and their shirts of linen either of cotton of the land or of Ruan, and their *caraguelles* of linen and the stripes of the stuffs worked in feathers, and the same with the women who wear skirts and *guaypies* [outer garments] according to the possibilities of each, of colored cotton and feathers, and the foods that they used were what are used now such as *tamales,* and *tortillas,* and their chickens and venison and rabbit and their *chile;* this was the diet of the *principales* [nobles]; but the *maceguales* [commoners], [ate] tortillas, chile, and some rabbit, gruels, beans, *chian* and other vegetables which they had to eat, which are same as they have now, and the quail and doves were kept as greatly prized food for their idol, and demon, and formerly they lived a much longer time and died very old, and when three or four died, they considered it a great pestilence and did not allow them to be buried, but burned them and winnowed their ashes in the air; they say that the reason why there was no pestilence, and why they now live a short time and many, many die regularly, what is understood to be the reason is that at that time they went naked, and slept on the ground, and bathed twice each day, and lived in health, and now they go about in shirts, and sleep in beds, with bedclothes, and when the air strikes them they fall ill and die and they do not understand that the cause can be any other.

. . . they say that outside of the oaks, pines and cedars which there are in the forest in quantity, that the most notable tree which they have is the maguey, for the many benefits which they have from it, such as making cloths with which they dress themselves, leaves and aloes for stewing black honey, and another which they drink when half cooked, and of it before cooking they make *pulque;* when the pulpy leaves whence all this comes are dried, it serves as firewood, and if a shoot which comes forth in the middle is allowed to grow, it serves as a beam, they make shoes, *alpargates,* and the said juice is very healing for new and old wounds, and of great power, and the points of the leaves, because they are very hard and sharp, serve as nails for many things; likewise they have another tree in this town which they call *amaquapite* which is the tree of the paper used by the natives, which they get from the bark of the said tree, boiled, and afterward they wash it and pound it with stone clubs, on boards, and thus they make it.

. . . they say that the fruit trees of Castile do not grow in this town, except the lime and the orange, and that very little, because it does not grow, and although they have tried to plant the quince, pomegranate, peach, pear and apple, and that there have only grown the guava-trees, and aguacates, and the *cocahualsuchal,* which is a tree like the *calan,* of which they make bouquets to present, and *yolosuchil* which is a heart-shaped flower which smells sweet, and trees of *yzquisuchil* which are little white flowers, very little ones which smell sweet, and others which have white flowers, red ones and yellow ones, which smell sweet, which they call *calosuche,* which in Spanish means flower of the crow; it is like the rose-bay of Spain.

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. . . that the garden seeds with which they ordinarily have sustained themselves and are sustaining themselves, are: corn, beans, chile, yams, and potatoes and *chian*, which is a very small grain like mustard, of which they make a gruel, and calabashes and *guahucoyoite*, which is wild amaranth, and another fruit which they call *chayotes* which are like the prickly hulls of chestnuts, except that they are larger and entirely edible; there grow also cabbages, lettuce, beets, onions, garlic, parsley, coriander, beans, chick-peas, except that they do not grow except in the garden of the church.

. . . they said they have a plant which is called *tamalcoco* and the root of which, drunk in wine, is good for the urine, taken with other herbs, they have another herb which is called *quahuchichiguale* the branch of which is good for them when they have fevers, given it to drink; they have also another herb which is called *hipatle*, the bark of which is good to give to drink to one who is spitting blood; they have another herb which is called *matlastuchil*, the root of which is good when given to drink for spotted fever; they likewise have another herb which is called *tlatlalote* of which the roots are very small, drunk when one has a chill, before they have fever, in a little wine or water, they sweat with it and vomit it again and then they are bled; they have another herb which is called *tlalancacitlapili* whose root is also good for the urine; they have likewise another plant which is called *tlalchichiplatli* whose root is good when given to drink for indigestion; they have likewise another plant which is called *tlatlaveapatli* the root of which drunk with *matlastuchil* and others is good for the spotted fever; many other herbs with other names are for the same purposes.

. . . they say that they have only seen that there are small lions, and wolves and coyotes which are like foxes and *ocotochite* which they say are like foxes and tigers they have not seen, and that the said animals do no harm except to the little dogs, and that of the animals of Spain there are none, except pigs and dogs, although they already had small dogs before and there are many fowls of the country, and domestic and wild cocks, and black pheasants in the forest, and that the fowls of Castile came from Spain, and that the manner of raising them is as in Castile, the ones as well as the others, except that those of the country are very tedious to raise because they are more delicate.

. . . they say that there are no salt pits in this town nor in its district, and that they furnish themselves with salt from the city of Mexico and from Chiautla and Piastla, which are thirteen or fourteen leagues from this town, and they lack nothing of the things to eat, except cows and sheep.

. . . the houses of this town are of stone and mud, and others of mud brick, small and square, and of bad appearance in the dwelling, because the rooms are opposed one to another, and all are covered with flat roofs whitewashed with lime, for there is much of it in this town and its district; there is *texontle* which is a red stone which is ground for mortar to make it very strong, even though they do not use it except for large buildings and churches.

. . . their principal industries, which they had formerly, were paper and lime, and that they paid tribute in stuffs that they made, and that now all have horses and bring fruit from one place to another, and paper, lime, and other merchandise which they carry on

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some market-days for others, from which they live, and that at present they pay the tribute in corn and money, accordingly as they are appraised.

. . . there is no hospital for Spaniards nor any other seminary, except a hospital for the Indians which the town itself built to cure its sick.[3]

A study of sixteenth-century archive materials on Tepoztlán reveals that some of the pre-Hispanic industries mentioned in the above document, such as the manufacture of paper and cotton cloth, lasted for some time after the Conquest. In fact, the evidence suggests that rather than decline, the native industries may have expanded for a short time in response to the market provided by the Spaniards. Thus, a document dated March 2, 1551, containing a report on local conditions and submitted by an agent of the Marquesado del Valle reads as follows, ". . . the said Indians collect much chile, beans, corn, cotton, melons and *xicamas*. . . .' Also, they have and make a great deal of paper, all of which they sell at excessive prices, dealing with Spaniards and with other Indian merchandise dealers."[4] Two other references indicate the continuation of the paper industry after the Conquest. One is found in the work of the great naturalist, Francisco Hernández, who visited Tepoztlán about 1575 and reported that Tepoztlán swarmed with workmen making paper.[5]

The other is a document dated February 4, 1591, which reports Tepoztecan complaints to the authorities to the effect that the cattle were damaging the trees from which they made paper.[6] This is the latest reference to papermaking in Tepoztlán that we found.

[248] Cotton growing, which is mentioned in many documents during the sixteenth

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[3] *Relación*, pp. 243-48.

[4] *Hospital de Jesús*, Leg. 289, Exp. 100.

[5] Francisco Hernández, *Historia de las Plantas de Nueva España*, I (México, D.F.: Imprenta Universitaria), 249. In discussing the *amaquahuitl* (paper tree), he writes as follows:

"Nace en los montes de Tepoztlán, donde se mira hormiguear de obreros que fabrican de este árbol un papel no muy a propósito para escribir o trazar líneas, aunque no deja pasar la tinta a su través, pero propio para envolturas y muy adecuado y útil entre estos indios occidentales para celebrar las fiestas de los dioses, confeccionar las vestiduras sagradas, y para adornos funerarios. Se cortan solo las ramas truesas de los arboles, para dejar que los renuevos se endurezcan; se maceran con agua y se dejan remojar durante la noche en los arroyos o ríos. Al día siguente, se les arrance la corteza, y después de limpiarla de la cuticula exterior, se extiende a golpes con una piedra plana pero surcada de algunas estrías, y que se sujeta con una vara de mumbre sin pulir doblada en círculo a manera de mango. Cede aquella madera flexible; se corta luego en trozos que, golpeados de nuevo con otra piedra mas plana, se unen facilmente entre sí y se alisan; se dividen por ultimo en hojas de dos palmos de largo y palmo y medio aproximadamente de ancho, que imitan nuestra papel mas grueso y corriente, pero son más compactas y más blancas, aunque muy inferiores a nuestro papel más terso."

Tepoztlán was probably one of the most important sources of paper for the Azteca. This opinion is given by Hans Lens and Federico Gómez de Orozco in their study, *La Industria Papelera de México* (México: Editorial Cultura, 1940). They point out that Tepoztlán was one of the 26 towns which, according to the Codex Mendocino, paid in taxes 16,000 *resmas* of paper annually to Moctezuma.

[6] *Indios*, Vol. 5, Exp. 181.

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century, persisted in Tepoztlán almost until the Revolution. A reference to cotton growing in Tepoztlán is found as late as 1890 in one of the best early geographies of the state of Morelos.[6] Furthermore, some of my older informants remember having seen cotton plants grown in the late eighties and were able to give detailed descriptions of the plants and the way in which they were used.[7] Weaving went out at about the time cotton did.[8]

Another pre-Hispanic industry which has now practically disappeared is that of pulque making. According to old legends, pulque was invented in or near Tepoztlán, and Tepoztecans were famous for their celebrations and debauchery. In the ancient Codex Magliabecchiano manuscript at Florence there is a reference to Tepoztlán, as follows:

They celebrated another feast called Pilauana, which means intoxication in children, because during the said feast the boys would dance with the girls and they would mutually give each other drink until they became intoxicated . . . these Indians being already nine to ten years old.[9]

Referring to the figure of Tepoztecatl or Ometochtli it says:

This is the figure of a great debauch that a village which calls itself Tepuztlán had as a rite, and when an Indian died from intoxication, the others in the village had a great dance bearing hatchets, made of copper in their hands. This village is near Yautepec, a dependence of the Marquesado del Valle.[10]

The importance of the maguey plant in pre-Hispanic Tepoztlán can further be judged by Hernández' description of its uses.

It furnished the people with fire and fence wood, with gutters, tiles and thatching material, paper, and fibres from which shoes and cloth are made. They gather nails and needles from it, as well as fruits, wine, honey, sugar and vinegar.[11]

Other references to the Tepoztecan economy during the sixteenth century deal primarily with taxation and the operation of the *repartimiento* system. As one of the four villas of the Marquesado del Valle, Tepoztlán was an important source of labor supply for the neighboring haciendas. There are frequent references to Tepoztecan men being called upon to labor in the haciendas. During the latter part of the sixteenth century, Tepoztecans were assessed at the rate of four per

[6] Alfonso Luis Velasco, *Geografía y Estadística*, Bk. VIII.

[7] Cotton (*itchkatl* in Náhuatl) was planted on the edges of the cornfields so that it would not cut down corn production. The cotton seeds were toasted and eaten. Only the poorest families planted cotton and wove it into cloth. The cotton plant was opened and the cotton picked and then beaten to make it fluffy in preparation for spinning. Cotton cloth in Tepoztlán was called *tlaxoptli*. Náhuatl terms used to describe the various processes are as follows:

itchawitepitl—to beat the cotton with sticks.
tlapochina—to loosen the cotton before spinning.
matsawa—to spin thread.

[8] Redfield reported two looms in Tepoztlán in 1926-27.

[9] Miguel Salinas, "La Sierra de Tepoztlán," *Memorias y Revista de la Sociedad Científica*, Vol. XXXVIII, Nos. 9 and 10 (July, 1920).

[10] *Ibid.*

[11] This is an abstract of Hernández given by J. J. Valentine, in his article on "Mexican Paper," *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society*, N.S., I (1880-81), 69.

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cent of the total number of taxpaying inhabitants of the town at the last census. That is, they were to send four men each week for every one hundred taxpayers.[12] In 1590 they were assessed sixty-three Indians to be given as follows:

"To the Ingenio de Amanelco, 37 Indians; to the Marquesado, 7; to Guastepeque, 10; to Guequepan, 5; to Contador Cassano, 5. . . ." [13] All of these localities were within the present state of Morelos.

Tepoztecans repeatedly complained against excessive demands for labor. A document dated June 20, 1590, reads as follows:

> . . . the *maceguales* of the village of Tepuztlán have explained to me how they are vexed by the governor and principals of the above mentioned village, who demand, against every reason, 224 Indians, which are sent to different places. In behalf of their own interests and being tired of so many annoyances they beg me that they be assessed at the rate of four out of every hundred. . . ."[14]

Tepoztecans were also sent to work in the mines, a practice against which they complained bitterly.

> The nobles and prominents have complained that it was very hard for them to send the 14 Indians that had to work in the Taxco mines because these mines were too far away and it took six days to make the round trip. They ask that instead they be sent to the sugar plantation of the Marqués del Valle which is nearer and that in their place 14 Indians from Yautepec which is closer to the mines be sent there.[15]

The document goes on to say that the Corregidor of Cuernavaca investigated the complaint, found it just, and

> . . . ordered the division of labor in the mines between the villas of Tepuztlan and Yautepec. 14 Indians from Tepuztlan were to go to the mines during six months in a year, beginning on Jan. 1, 1591. The other six months, the 14 Indians were to be sent from Yautepec. The six months that the Tepuztecans did not go to the mines they were to work in the sugar fields of the Marqués del Valle.[16]

Despite all the Tepoztecan protests, we find that as late as 1699 they were still sending some men to the mines of Taxco and complaining about it. In 1695 a royal decree had been passed reducing the number to four men a year. However, the local authorities did not advise the inhabitants of the order, but instead levied a special tax on the pretext that those who paid the tax would not have to go to Taxco. The tax was, of course, pocketed by the officials.[17]

It appears that in addition to the regular yearly assessment, Tepoztecans were also called upon to work on haciendas in emergencies. Thus when a neighboring *hacendado*, Diego Cavallero, who had rented a plantation from Cortés, ran short of Negro slaves during harvest of the sugar cane, Tepoztlán was ordered to supply

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[12] *Indios*, Vol. 4, Exp. 911.
[13] *Ibid.*
[14] *Ibid.*, Exp. 728.
[15] *Ibid.*, Exp. 127.
[16] *Ibid.* See also Vol. 6, Exp. 417. This document tells of Tepoztecan deaths in the Taxco mines as a result of which they were henceforth to work only on nearby sugar plantations.
[17] See *Hospital de Jesús*, Leg. 312, Exp. 9.

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"400 common Indians . . . to be taken to said Diego Cavallero . . . for what remains of this year and the coming year of 1600 only. . . ." [18]

What these frequent demands upon Tepoztecan labor supply did to the local economy can only be conjectured. It seems probable that it acted as a disruptive factor and may have contributed to the breakdown of local industries.

Indian complaints to the crown against mistreatment in the mines sometimes led to action in their behalf. A document of 1603 tells of an order from the Audiencia Real which suspended the sending of Indians from Tepoztlán to Cuautla because of "the grievances and mistreatment which his lordship learned were being inflicted upon the Indians." [19]

In addition to work on haciendas and in mines, Tepoztecans were also required to work on construction projects in Cuernavaca, the construction of the church in Tepoztlán, and as domestic servants for the *principales* of the village. According to the law, Tepoztecans were to receive payment for such work, but judging from the many Tepoztecan complaints against failure to be paid, the law was not always followed. This and other points can be seen from the following excerpts which suggest, among other things, that the church and the hacienda owners worked hand in hand in the exploitation of Indian labor.

The Count of Curuños, by order of His Excellency Martín López de Guana, orders in turn to the *alcalde* of Tepuztlan, D. Lorenzo Juárez de Mendoza, the following:

. . . . That the Indians and residents of Tepuztlan have complained to him, that the governor and some of the well-known persons of the villa oblige them to send Indians to work for their household and do personal things. They added that unnecessary numbers of people were compelled to go to work in the repairing being done in the Church of Santo Domingo [barrio of Tepoztlán]. They assured that less people could do the work and added that most of the ones who were asked to work in the Church were sent instead to the sugar plantations of D. Bernardino del Castillo Tlaltenango, where excesses were committed with them. They ask that not so many people should be sent to work because, due to the high mortality rate of the previous year, there are now very few people left in the town. . . . [20]

Large numbers of Tepoztecans worked on construction projects in Cuernavaca for Cortés. The following reference is one of many of this type in my possession:

It is hereby made known to the Corregidor of the Villa of Cuernavaca, that the governor and *regidores* of the villa of Tepoztlán, and 555 commoners worked for a month and a half in burning limekilns to prepare lime for use in the repair of houses of the Marqués del Valle, each Indian working two days; in addition 879 artisans, carpenters, bricklayers and lime makers worked, some working eight days, others ten and twelve days and longer depending upon the hurry of the job . . . and that they were never paid for their work and the said *macegnales* were aggrieved. . . . [21]

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[18] Archivo General de la Nación, México, General de Parte V, 64v-65, quoted in Zavala, *Fuentes para la Historia*, Bk. I, pp. 308-09. This document also refers to an order of the King requiring the *hacendado* to buy Negro slaves to replace the Indians.

[19] *Ibid.*, Bk. V, pp. 94-95.

[20] *Indios*, Vol. 2, Exp. 103.

[21] *Ibid.*, Vol. 4, Exp. 410.

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● 175 433 This complaint was investigated and it was determined that "the 1,800 *peones* who were occupied deserve one-half *real* each, and the 90 *oficiales* (artisans) one and a half *reales* each."[22] However, five months had elapsed since the first complaint and the Tepoztecans had not yet been paid.

In addition to levies on Tepoztecan manpower by the *repartimiento* system, Tepoztlán was also subject to taxation. In the years before the Conquest, Tepoztlán paid tribute to Moctezuma in the form of cotton mantles, cloth, paper, and corn. It is difficult to determine the amount of tribute paid in each item because our main source of information, the *Matrícula de Tributos,* lists Tepoztlán along with 25 other towns which apparently constituted a single administrative unit under Moctezuma. However, some idea of the kind of tributes collected can be seen from this document.

The tribute of the province of Huaxtepec of which Tepoztlán formed a part is given in the Codex Mendocino as follows:[23]

Clothing

400 bundles of loin cloths
400 bundles of women's clothing
1,400 bundles of large mantles of "twisted" cloth
8,000 bundles of rich little mantles
46 warriors' costumes with shields (6 being fine pieces)

Food

4 large wooden cribs (1 each of maize, beans, *chian,* and *huauhtli*)

Other Goods

2,000 polished pottery dishes of various colors
8,000 reams of native paper.[24]

In the early years after the Conquest, Cortés apparently followed the Aztec policy of collecting taxes in produce. However, shortly after the Marquesado del Valle was established we find Tepoztecans complaining against making payments in kind and asking that they be allowed to pay in currency. These data are especially important, for they suggest that by the latter half of the sixteenth century Tepoztlán was already beginning to function as a money economy. [436]

[22] *Ibid.*, Exp. 962.

[23] The tribute list as given is taken from R. H. Barlow, "The Extent of the Empire of the Culhua Mexica," *Ibero-Americana,* XXVIII (1949), 81. I cannot agree with Barlow when he decides to consider Tepoztlán as belonging to the administrative district of Chalco rather than Huaxtepec. (*Ibid.,* p. 74.) This is admittedly a guess on his part, since Tepoztlán also appears in the list of villages belonging to Huaxtepec. There is fairly conclusive evidence from other sources to show that Tepoztlán belonged to Huaxtepec. The *Relación* specifically deals with this point, as do other early sixteenth-century documents from the *Archivo de Indios* and the *Hospital de Jesús.* Nevertheless, this matter reflects the marginal position of Tepoztlán to the three native administrative districts prior to the Spanish Conquest, namely, Chalco, Cuernavaca, and Huaxtepec. This appears clearly from an examination of these districts as shown by Barlow's maps of the Empire of the Culhua Mexica, printed in the work cited.

[24] Lens and Gómez de Orozco, *La Industria Papelera,* suggest that most of the paper came from Tepoztlán.

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One of the reasons some Tepoztecans preferred money payments over payments in kind was that there were landless individuals who had to purchase corn at exorbitant prices to pay their taxes. This is seen in the following document addressed to the *corregidor* of Cuernavaca by the Audiencia:

. . . . The *maceguales* of the village of Tepuztlan have reported to me that many of them, due to the lack of arable land, do not work the ten *brazos* of seed [land] which belongs to the community, and by agreement with the governor and *alcaldes* they pay each year in money the value of 10 *almudes* of corn because they cannot pay in kind, which causes them a great deal of harm, because the price of grain changes from one year to another, and the valuation is made by the governor and mayors, who to profit themselves do this without regard to the common hurt; and that the hurt is so great that they can afford it no longer; and they requested that the tax in corn be changed to money, since they have no lands; and that each Indian be allowed to pay 2 *reales de plata* yearly as is done in other places where there is no corn harvest. . . .[25]

Later documents indicate that this was allowed, and that taxes were collected in both goods and money. In 1552 an agent of the Marqués del Valle, who visited Tepoztlán to investigate complaints against high taxes, reported back that it would be in the interest of both the Marqués and the Crown if Tepoztecans were forced to pay in cotton cloth as they had done earlier under Moctezuma. He reports that Tepoztecans were taking advantage of the great scarcity of cotton cloth and were charging exorbitant prices for it.[26]

In 1567 Tepoztlán was taxed by the Audiencia Real of New Spain "each year 2,718 pesos and one *tomín* of common gold . . . and in addition 1,327½ fanegas of corn to be paid at harvest time."[27] In 1569 they were taxed 2,655 pesos and 1,327 fanegas of corn.[28] According to one document the Marqués del Valle obtained 2,418 fanegas of corn from the Tepoztecan harvest of 1567 and 1568, and 1,095 fanegas from the harvest of 1569.[29] He then sold this corn at the price of "cinco tomines de Tepuzque la fanega," to one Miguel Rodríguez de Acevedo, who had rented the nearby "ingenio de Taltenango" from Cortés for a period of nine years beginning in 1567.[30]

A document of 1580 gives us a clearer picture of the taxation system in the village and municipio.[31] Taxes were collected for three purposes: as payment to the Crown: to help support the local officials of the municipio; and to support the church and the village fiestas. The over-all rate of taxation for heads of families was one fanega of corn per taxpayer, and the rate for Indian women, widowed or single, was one *tomín* each. A total of 1,460 fanegas of corn was collected from Tepoztlán and the surrounding six villages. A fanega was the equivalent of 48 *cuartillos*.[32] This item

[25] *Indios*, Vol. 4, Exp. 565.
[26] *Hospital de Jesús*, Leg. 289, Exp. 100.
[27] Francisco del Paso y Troncoso, ed. *Epistolario de Nueva España*, XI (Mexico: 1505–1818), 27.
[28] *Ibid.*
[29] It appears that Cortés took this corn as part payment of the assessment.
[30] *Ibid.*, p. 36.
[31] *Indios*, Vol. 1, Exp. 252. This document is given in its entirety in Appendix C, p. 455
[32] This means that corn sold for three centavos per *cuartillo* in 1579.

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is important as one of the very few instances of corn production figures for Tepoztlán during the sixteenth century. The 1,460 fanegas of corn collected would be the present-day equivalent of about 730 *cargas*, or approximately 3,759 bushels.[33]

Each fanega of corn was worth one and one-half pesos. This corn was collected at the rate of one fanega per head of family. In addition, there were 63 women, widowed or single, located in the outlying towns, who paid one *tomín* each; and 250 women, widowed or single, located in Tepoztlán proper, who paid .86 *tomín* each.

The community treasury received 498 pesos and 6 *tomines*, which went to the Crown for taxes. This sum was raised by taking the 40 pesos and 4 *tomines* paid by the single or widowed Indian women, adding to it the proceeds from the sale of enough corn to equal 2 *tomines* per taxpayer for the six small villages, and selling 253 additional fanegas of corn from the amount taken from Tepoztlán proper. To the municipio went 372 fanegas for payment to local officials and clergy; 60 fanegas went to pay officials of outlying villages; and 649 fanegas were left to the towns for festivals, church expenses, and visiting priests.

The document takes up each of the outlying villages: Santiago, San Juan, Santa Catalina, and San Andrés, and explains what has been paid and how it is to be divided and used. Using this as a basis I have inferred certain figures which were not given and have arrived at estimates for each village and for the municipio as a whole.

I have assumed five as the average size of a family. This is somewhat higher than figures used by other scholars. Mendizábal [34] used 3.2 in his population estimates, and more recently Cook and Simpson used 4.[35] However, the total population derived from my figures is not unduly high because I did not count the children of widows or widowers. Were I to follow the procedure of Cook and Simpson I would have to add the 313 Indian women, widowed or single, to the 1,460 taxpayers giving a total of 1,773 taxpayers, which would make for a total population of 7,392 as compared to my estimate of 7,613.

Table 16 shows the corn collected and sold and the population estimates. All figures for the outlying villages except those under "Corn Collected" were given in the document. However, in the case of Tepoztlán proper, only the figures under "Indian Women" and "Men Taxpayers" were given in the document.

To illustrate how the figures for Table 16 were derived from the document, we will use the village of Santiago as an illustration. The village had to contribute 20 pesos and 3 *tomines* to the community treasury. This amount was to be collected from 15 Indian women, widowed or single, at the rate of one *tomín* each. The other

[33] For colonial weights and measures, see Manuel Carrera S. Tampa, "The Evolution of Weights and Measures in New Spain," *Hispanic American Historical Review*, Vol. 29, No. 1 (Feb., 1949), pp. 12-24.

[34] Miguel Othón de Mendizábal, "La Demografía Mexicana," *Obras Completas*, Bk. III (1946), pp. 309-35.

[35] Cook and Simpson, "The Population of Central Mexico," *Ibero-Americana*, Vol. XXXI (1948), p. 5.

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18½ pesos were to be collected from 74 taxpayers at the rate of two *tomines* each. These 148 *tomines* were secured by selling 12½ fanegas of corn at 1½ pesos a fanega; and after selling this amount there were 61½ fanegas left. All these figures were given in the document. To get the figures for the total population, we multiplied 74 x 5 (the figure I assumed as the average size of a family) which equals

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TABLE 16. First Distribution of Corn, 1580.

Village	Indian Women (Widowed or Single)	Men Taxpayers or Heads of Families	Total Population	Corn (Fanegas)			Total Paid to Community Treasury	
				Collected	Sold	Held	Pesos	*Tomines*
Santiago	15	74	385	74	12½	61½	20	3
Santa María Magdalena	16	93	481	93	15½	77½	25	2
Santo Domingo	8	45	233	45	7½	37½	12	3
San Juan	6	34	176	34	6	28	9	2
Santa Catalina	8	46	238	46	8	38	12	4
San Andrés	10	45	235	45	7½	37½	12	4
Tepoztlán	250	1,123	5,865	1,123	253	801	406	3
Total	313	1,460	7,613	1,460	310	1,081	498	6

370, and to this we added the 15 Indian women to arrive at the total population of 385.

Following is the list of officials and the amount of corn which they received. (See Table 17.) This list includes only the officials of Tepoztlán proper; all of the 372 fanegas of corn, which was divided among them, came from the 801 fanegas which they had left after the first distribution shown in Table 16. Of the 82 people listed in Table 17 only five were not officials, namely, Doña María Cortés and four "Sons of ex-prominents." This leaves 77 officials for Tepoztlán proper.

In the last section of the document the viceroy directs the final distribution of the corn that remains. This is shown in Table 18. The document also indicates an additional three officials for each of the outlying towns. This brings the total number of persons supported at least partially by taxation to 85, and the total number of officials to eighty. Here then, we see that Tepoztlán supported a much larger bureaucracy in 1580 than in 1943. This will be considered in more detail later. In this last section of the document the amount of corn left for the real needs of the villages is also indicated. This corn was used to pay for feasts, priests who visited the town, celebrations, and so forth.

TEPOZTECAN ECONOMY DURING THE DÍAZ REGIME

One of the curious and unfortunate aspects of the historical record for Tepoztlán is the wide gap in our information between the end of the sixteenth century and the latter part of the nineteenth century. We know little of what happened in the

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TABLE 17. Distribution of Corn to Officials, 1580.

Officials		Corn (Fanegas)	
Title	Number	Amount to Each	Total
Governor	1	30	30
Alcaldes	2	10	20
Regidores	6	6	36
Mayordomos	2	6	12
Escribientes	2	6	12
Church *fiscal*	1	10	10
Singers of the church	20	2	40
Alguaciles of the fields	6	5	30
The great *alguacil* of the capital	1	6	6
Daughter of Don Hipólito *cacique*, Doña María Cortés	1	12	12
Sons of ex-prominents	4	5	20
Tequitlatos of the capital	10	4	40
Tequitlatos of barrio of Atenco	8	4	32
Tequitlatos of barrio of Teycapan	10	4	40
Tequitlatos of barrio of Olac	5	4	20
Alguacil of barrio of Pochitlán	1	4	4
Tequitlatos of barrio of Pochitlán	2	4	8
Total	82		372

village during this two-hundred-year period, our data being limited to some references to epidemics in the early nineteenth century, the foundation of schools about 1820, the loss of church lands after 1857, and the participation of Tepoztecans in

TABLE 18. Final Distribution of Corn, 1580.

Villages	Corn (Fanegas)		
	On Hand After First Payments	Final Payments	On Hand After Final Payments
Santiago	61½	15	46½
Santa María Magdalena	77½	15	62½
Santo Domingo	37½	7	30½
San Juan	28	7½	20½
Santa Catalina	38	7½	30½
San Andrés	37½	7½	30
Tepoztlán	801	372	429
Total	1,081	431½	649½

the "War of the Plateros" in the sixties. However, it is possible to reconstruct some aspects of the economic life of the village during the later part of the Díaz regime on the basis of informants who lived through that period and have vivid memories

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of what happened. Some data are also contained in regional geographies of the area published in the late nineties.

The impressions of life in Tepoztlán during the Díaz regime given to us by informants vary considerably. Some informants, particularly those who come from leading families, paint a picture of peace and prosperity similar to that recorded by Redfield. Other informants, primarily those who were poor and landless, give a picture of suffering and exploitation both by the surrounding haciendas and the local *caciques*. Let us examine two samples of informants' versions of life in the village at the turn of the century. The first version is that of a poor *tlacololero*, age 54, who is landless, who worked as a *peón* on many haciendas prior to the Revolution, and who has since held minor positions in the local government.

There was much more hunger about 1900 than at present. The majority of the population was very poor. The presidents of the municipio, in agreement with the *caciques*, forbade the sowing of *tlacolol* and so the poor had no way of helping themselves. This prohibition was due to the fact that if the poor planted *tlacolol*, the rich or *caciques* would not have *peones* during the rainy season to seed their lands.

The poor did not plant because they owned no lands. On the other hand, the *caciques* had much land. Among the *caciques* there were the following persons: Vicente Ortega, Pedro Ortega, Pedro Demesa, Demetrio Rojas, Donaciano Navarrete, Pedro Lara, Vicente Zúñiga, José María Martínez, Valentín Ortiz, Pedro Quiros, and Mariano Patiño—practically all of them belonged to the barrio of La Santísima.

The wealthy hired oxen and *peones* but there was always an excess of people. They paid the oxen driver 25 centavos a day, and the *peones* 18 centavos a day.

Corn sold at 3 centavos per *cuartillo*, but since work was scarce there was hardly anything to eat, and often it was necessary to subsist on grass, mushroom fungus, and *quelites*. During the months of January and February hunger increased, and then the poor had to go to one of the rich and offer to work during the rainy season; and if he were accepted, he asked his future "boss," for an advance of a *tercio de maíz*, for example, which would be deducted from the wages he would later earn. The deduction was made on the basis of 50 per cent of the daily wage; they amortized half the debt, and the other half was paid in cash to the *peón*. The very poor, pressed by necessity, were forced to pawn their sons, for a sum which varied between 5 and 10 pesos. The *empeñados* (pawned children) worked in the house of the *rico* carrying water, wood, guarding the cattle, and performing other domestic duties.

Domestic servants earned a salary of 1½ pesos a month, and had to grind corn, wash, and cook.

When some poor man did not want to pay the debt he had contracted with his *patrón*, the latter went to the municipal authorities and they placed the debtor in jail as *insolvente*.

The debt which oppressed the poor families was so heavy a burden that one never stopped paying, and debts were passed from father to sons.

The salaries of *peones* began to rise as a result of the competition offered to the wealthy of Tepoztlán by the haciendas. The haciendas sought many laborers and offered better salaries. The rich were not able to prohibit the *peones* from leaving for the haciendas as they had done in the case of *tlacolol;* they were thus obliged, much against their will, to raise salaries. Here is an approximate comparison of the salaries in those days.

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Wages	
Caciques	*Haciendas*
18 centavos	2 *reales y medio* or 3 *reales* or 37 centavos
3 *reales*	1 *tostón*
1 *tostón*	5 *reales* or 62 centavos
1 *tostón*	5 *reales y medio*
5 *reales*	6 *reales* or 75 centavos

It was customary to beat the *peones* who worked on the haciendas. The men charged with recruiting labor for the haciendas were known as *capitanes*. They always carried a "chicote de cuero crudo," about two meters in length; the foreman had a sheaf of long machetes. Both officials were responsible for beating the *peones*. They did not permit interruptions—when a *peón* tried to rest awhile he was given a lashing.

The *peones* did not protest when the overseers beat them. All were humiliated or cowed, for if they dared protest they were drafted into the army as common soldiers.

When the Revolution finally approached, they first began to show manifestations of discontent against the primitive regime of the haciendas. Thus, for example, I participated in a collective protest which occurred against one of the overseers. I was working at the hacienda of Temixco, whose owners and high ranking employees were all *gachupines* (Spaniards). The routine of work was as follows: work began at 5:00 A.M. and ended at 6:00 P.M.; at noon there was an hour to eat. All the Tepoztecans had to eat cold tortillas which were sent all the way from Tepoztlán. Once they decided to light a small fire to warm the tortillas. They used some twigs to hold the tortillas over the fire. It happened to be the custom to call these twigs "*gachupines*." The one-fourth hour they were allowed for breakfast was not long enough, and so one of the foremen arrived on horseback in front of the group of Tepoztecans around the fire and ordered them to stand and get to work, for the others were already at work. Tepoztecans explained why they were delayed, but the overseer did not listen and urged his horse onto the fire and the meal. Then the Tepoztecans picked up some stones and ran him off. Later they got up and went to the cashier to ask for their pay, for they no longer wanted to work on the hacienda. Then the *patrón* arrived and when he learned of what had transpired, he decided the workers were right, and he beat the overseer and stripped him of his authority. As a result of this incident the workers were convinced that the time had come to demand energetically the end of these abuses.

When the revolutionary uprisings finally began, the overseers and labor recruiters became more and more fearful and hesitated to mistreat anyone.

As to political freedom in the village, there was absolutely none; the *cacique*, Vicente Ortega, was the one who ruled, and all who rebelled he ordered imprisoned, banished, or sent to the army.

The *caciques* named the municipal authorities among themselves; they had no free elections such as there are now.[*]

Other informants gave more emphasis to the positive aspects of life under the Díaz regime. It should be noted that when an informant was told the versions of

[*] This informant worked in the following haciendas: Atlihuayan, San Carlos, San Gaspar, Temixco, and Cinconcuac; in Temixco they gave him a blow with a cudgel which knocked him out for quite a while; and in the other haciendas he was frequently beaten.

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other informants, he usually agreed that many of the abuses mentioned had existed.

The second version is a summary and condensation of the account of an informant, age 67, who is a member of a small landholding family and who was very active in village politics during the Revolution and in the early twenties. He was also active in the religious life of the village and is a man of more than average ability and intelligence.

Life was good in the time of Porfirio Díaz. Everything was cheap. Corn sold for three centavos per *cuartillo*. A cup of alcohol cost one centavo; a kilo of sugar, ten centavos; a pack of cigarettes, three centavos; a meter of cloth, only fifteen centavos. It is true that wages were low. The daily wage was 25 centavos but was rising during the years immediately preceding the Revolution and had gone up to fifty centavos. The thing that was truly scarce was work. And so during the difficult times from January to May and from August to September, the stronger among us went to work on the sugar plantations of Oacalco, San Carlos, Atlihuayan, San Vicente, Temixco, and others of the many that were in the state of Morelos. The owners of these plantations were *gachupines*, and they mistreated the Indians, kicking and insulting them. These plantations also robbed the nearby villages of their lands. This is what happened to Tepoztlán. We lost some of our best lands.

The rich here had their lands and produced good crops, but the poor had no land. The poor ate chile and salt and some beans. Meat was had once a month at best. Animals were slaughtered in the local slaughterhouse only once every four days, but even at this rate all the meat could not be sold. Milk was used by only the rich. Most of the villagers lived on pure tortilla, squash seeds, and acacia pods. Clothing was almost entirely of cotton, and huaraches were made of crude leather. Huaraches were made in Tepoztlán, as were sombreros. There were surrounding plantations which at that time were more isolated from the cities than now. There were three tanning shops in the village and there was a saddlery shop which made harnesses, saddles, machete sheaths, and pistols, items which were used by the local *cacique* families.

The local government was in the hands of *caciques*. Vicente Ortega held power for many years, with the support of the state authorities among whom he had ties of *compadrazgo*. There were no political parties or opposition groups allowed. Ortega was good and kind to those who were good and was bad to those who were bad. Those were the times of order and respect for authority. Punishments were severe. Anyone who opposed his rule might be sent to prison in Quintana Roo. This happened a few times. A vigorous village guard made the rounds each night. Everyone was to be off the streets after dark, but in any case even a woman walking alone in the streets would be safe. Stealing was rare as was other crime, for the people feared the severe punishments.

Ortega looked out for the welfare of the villagers. When there was a shortage of corn he always knew where to get it and did. It is true that sometimes he sold it at rather high prices, but it was better to have it than not at all. He was also good, for when someone had a death in the family he would lend him money. He had many *peones* work his lands and paid them 18 centavos a day. He demanded that his *peones* work for him all through the agricultural season. If they arrived late at work he would scold them and oblige them to catch up with those who had arrived early. Sometimes he might go as far as to beat them.

The construction of the railroad by the Wells Fargo Company at the turn of the

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century led to bitter anti-American sentiment. Vicente Ortega, the leading *cacique* in the village, was accused of personally pocketing the funds received by the local government from the railroad for the privilege of cutting a road through the municipio lines. After repeated complaints to the state authorities, an investigation was held and Ortega resigned his position and was succeeded by a triumvirate of three other Tepoztecans.

It should be noted that there was much more public work done in the village during the Díaz regime than later. The present municipal building and park were constructed at that time. The leading streets in the village were lighted by *farolas*, and some of the funds obtained from the railroad was used to pipe water into the village. It was at this time also that Tepoztlán started its local museum, and its newspapers were published in Aztec and Spanish. This was indeed a time of cultural florescence for the village, even though it was limited to the better-to-do families.

In the preceding pages I have attempted to reconstruct some aspects of Tepoztecan economics before the Conquest, in the early colonial period, and during the later part of the Díaz regime. In summary it can be said that the pre-Hispanic economy was a varied one, for in addition to corn production, there were a number of important local industries such as cotton growing, weaving, the manufacture of paper, and the intensive use of the maguey plant for a variety of purposes. While there is no way of knowing the relative importance of each of these industries, it is interesting to note that corn and beans constituted only a relatively small part of the semi-annual tribute paid to Moctezuma by the district of which Tepoztlán formed a part.

After the Conquest we find that most of Tepoztecan taxes were paid in corn or its money equivalent. These data suggest that the Conquest had the effect of making Tepoztlán more and more dependent upon its corn, for the other industries soon disappeared. It would also seem probable that a greater land area was planted in corn after the Conquest in order to meet the new conditions, and that corn production probably increased as a consequence of the introduction of plow agriculture. This, in turn, has resulted in progressive exhaustion of Tepoztecan lands, so that at present the lands on which plow culture is practiced are among the least productive in the municipio and their corn yields compare unfavorably with the communal hillside lands on which hoe culture is practiced.

Our historical survey also shows that the Conquest was a disruptive influence on local industries, and also led to a marked decline in population. (See p. 29.) It also suggests that the land problem in Tepoztlán dates back at least to the mid-sixteenth century, at which time there were already landless people in Tepoztlán. Another point established by the documents is that Tepoztlán very early became subject to a money economy, with all that this implies for the development of a commercial spirit.

The essential facts which emerge from several informants' accounts of the Díaz regime are as follows: (1) a large portion of the population was landless and not

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permitted to utilize the communal lands; (2) most of these landless people worked on nearby sugar plantations; (3) the economic and political life of the village was dominated by the *caciques* or political bosses imposed by the state government; (4) prices were low and the cost of living much cheaper than at present: and (5) class differences were much more marked than at present.

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423 476 794 the same lands which were worked for the Aztec priesthood were later worked for the Catholic Church.

COMMUNAL LANDS

175 423 The communal lands represent one of the oldest forms of landholding and have shown a remarkable stability through the years. The system of communal landholding has remained practically intact through both the Aztec and Spanish Conquests. Indeed, the similarity between the policy of the Spanish and Aztec conquerors of Tepoztlán toward the system of communal landholdings is noteworthy.

When Tepoztecans asked the Spaniards for legal title to their lands in the early sixteenth century, they were able to present maps showing the boundaries of their lands which they had held under Moctezuma. These ancient "titles" were used by the Spaniards as a basis for determining the limits of the land grants.[1] The present [131] limits of the municipio are therefore almost identical with those of pre-Hispanic days. Because most Tepoztecan lands were ill suited for either sugar or rice plantations, and because of the policy both of the Crown and of the Marqués del Valle, who conquered Tepoztlán in 1521, to alter only those native institutions which constituted a direct threat to the conquerors, the Marqués was not interested in Tepoztecan lands as such. Rather, he wanted taxes in the form of produce and later in money, and he wanted the labor of Tepoztecans to work his mines and haciendas.

Tepoztlán received its first land titles from the Viceroy Don Antonio de Mendoza in a grant dated May 20, 1548. This grant consisted of two *sitios de ganado mayor;* its next grant under Don Louis de Velasco, dated February 6, 1555, was for four *sitios de ganado menor* and eight *caballerías de tierra.*[2] These land grants gave Tepoztecans legal title to lands which they had traditionally worked and claimed.

[631] [648] The titles for the communal holdings of the municipio are considered very precious, and responsibility for their safekeeping is entrusted to the *síndico* of the municipal local government in Tepoztlán. These titles are used primarily in boundary disputes, which have been going on with neighboring municipios for the past four hundred years. From historical documents we learn that less than one hundred years after the Conquest the land titles had already been lost. The loss and recovery of the land titles has occurred again and again in the history of the municipio.

175 423 648 According to local tradition, the titles to the municipal lands fell into the hands of the Hacienda de San Gaspar during the middle of the last century. Tepoztecans were prohibited from using their own forest resources, which the hacienda used for wood fuel. The Tepoztecans carried on an extended feud with this hacienda, and the agents were killed on sight in the village. Apparently the hacienda was

[1] In these early land grants, the land was described as follows ". . . la mayor parte de tierra infructífera por los muchos cerros y lomas ásperas, barrancas y montes intransitables." These early documents also establish the fact that the village of Tepoztlán was the administrative seat of the municipio. The surrounding villages are listed as *pagos.* See *Ramo de Tierras,* Vol. 67 (1591), Exp. 11, Foja 12; and Vol. 3501 (1745), Exp. 1, Cuaderno 4. The ancient boundaries are also given in the *Relación.*

[2] *Ibid.*

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agreeable to settling the issue and offered to sell the land titles back to Tepoztlán. A wealthy Tepoztecan, Vicente Gómez, offered to lend the money to the municipio for the purchase of the titles. This man later became a leading *cacique* in the village and controlled the local government. In an attempt to recover his loan, he levied heavy taxes on each sack of charcoal produced by Tepoztecans. A group of villagers finally assassinated him.

The land titles were again lost between 1900 and 1905 when a local priest sold to an outsider the land titles and other important documents kept in the archives of the convent.[8] A few years later the village had to buy them back at a high price. This occurred again in 1925 when the municipio paid 800 pesos to buy back its land titles from a non-Tepoztecan woman into whose hands they had fallen.

Judging from the early documents, there was little change in the system of communal landholdings during the entire colonial period. The only references of significance show that as early as 1567 Cortés had rented some Tepoztecan lands to the operator of his Hacienda of Tlaltenango and also to some Tepoztecans. Presumably Cortés was using communal lands for this purpose. The first great change in the system of landholdings occurred after the Revolution of 1857 when most of the communal lands held by the church were taken over by some of the leading families of the village as private property. After this time Tepoztecans could petition the local authorities for title to some of the communal lands.

One occasion for a fairly large distribution of communal lands to individual Tepoztecans occurred in the late 1890's as a result of an attempt of the Hacienda of Oacalco to grab some of the Tepoztecan lands. To present a stronger legal claim, the local authorities encouraged Tepoztecans to file claims for individual plots of land in the area which was being threatened, so that individual court actions could be lodged against the hacienda if the lands were taken. The private owners of the said lands backed up their newly acquired claims by force of arms, and managed to keep the lands for Tepoztlán. However, despite the Reform Laws of 1857, most of the communal lands of Tepoztlán remained intact and were not converted into private property.

Although the municipio of Tepoztlán held on to most of its communal lands, these lands were under the control of the local *caciques* and, therefore, were not always available to the landless Tepoztecans. Before the Revolution of 1910–20 the *caciques*, with the support of state and federal authorities, prohibited the villagers from using the communal lands in order to assure a cheap labor supply for themselves. One of the most important effects of the Revolution upon Tepoztlán was that the communal lands of the municipio became open to all Tepoztecans.

Another important change in the status of the communal lands occurred shortly after the Revolution as a result of the National Ejido Program. On April 24, 1921, a group of Tepoztecans, led by members of the colony of Tepoztecans in Mexico

[8] Manuel Miranda y Marrón, "Una Excursión a Tepoztlán," *Société Scientifique*, Bk 2 (1905–06), pp. 22-23.

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terests of a small clique within that village. The schisms created by this cooperative within the village and the municipio will be treated later in this study.

These facts indicate the strong individualism of the villagers, and the interesting way in which new contacts with the outside and production for the market have disrupted the earlier stability of the municipio. As long as production of charcoal was primarily for household use, there seemed to be no conflict between collective ownership and individual exploitation of the resources. As a matter of fact, the communal lands have been one of the few unifying factors in the life of the municipio and have brought the villagers together to defend their lands in the face of threats from the outside. However, with commercial exploitation of the limited communal resources, competition became intense, and the concept of communal land ownership by the municipio was attacked.

PRIVATE HOLDINGS

As we have indicated earlier, private landholdings include most of the lands for plow agriculture; that is, most of the level lands. The only other privately owned lands are the house sites in the village, most of which include some ground for a garden and for some corn plantings. The history of private landholdings is not very clear. Certainly we know that private holdings have existed at least since the time of the Conquest. Whether or not it existed in Tepoztlán before the Conquest cannot be determined, but, judging from the data for other parts of Mexico, it is probable that private holdings coexisted with other holdings. Much of the land that is now privately owned, approximately one hundred hectares of the most productive lands of the municipio, once belonged to the church. This land was divided into private holdings after the Revolution of 1857. Most of the landowners now have some document to prove title; but there are still many individuals who work plots of land which have been passed down from family to family without any written proof of ownership.

The ownership of land is one of the basic aspirations of Tepoztecan peasants, and land-ownership is perhaps their most important single criterion of wealth. The value put on land-ownership is reflected, in part, by the fact that farmers, artisans, and merchants invest in land whenever they have the necessary capital and the opportunity. But there is no concentration of land-ownership in the hands of a few. There are several reasons for this. Few people in Tepoztlán will sell tillable land, and when they do they prefer to sell to close relatives. On the whole there is little land turnover. Tepoztecans with sufficient capital to purchase large quantities of land do not do so, because they seek more profitable kinds of investments, generally in cattle. The high cost of labor and the low and uneven yields in plow agriculture make corn production for commercial purposes unprofitable.

DISTRIBUTION OF PRIVATE HOLDINGS

According to our findings, only 36 per cent or 311 of the 853 families in the village own private land. Thus, in a village where the family ideal is to own a plot

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10 *local government and politics:*

THE MUNICIPIO OF TEPOZTLÁN is one of twenty-seven municipios of the state of Morelos. It is governed by the State Constitution of November 20, 1930, which abolished the older political divisions known as districts and established "free municipios," each with local governments to be elected by popular vote. The village of Tepoztlán is the seat of the municipal government and as such is the most important administrative and political center of the municipio.

Tepoztlán, like Mexico as a whole, has had a long and complicated political history which antedates the Spanish Conquest by many centuries. As has been noted before, Tepoztlán had experienced a number of conquests before the coming of the Spaniards and had a long history of living under political domination and an authoritarian system. The more than three hundred years of Spanish rule during the colonial period continued this tradition. In fact, Mexican independence from Spain brought very little political change for the village, and it continued to live under an authoritarian and imposed regime up to the Revolution of 1910–20.

Since 1910 political life in the village has been unusually intense, dramatic, and not without its tragic aspects. Because of its proximity to both the state and national capitals it has been particularly subject to outside political influences and has reflected state and national political trends. Almost every political current of national importance has had some repercussions in the village. The village participated in the struggle against the Huerta Uprising, and later against the Cristeros.

In the thirties the village had a Communist cell and was strongly pro-Cárdenas. Later it was in favor of Almazán and there was even talk of armed uprising when he was defeated. The Sinarquistas were also active in the village, though quite unsuccessful. And during World War II the villagers were decidedly pro-axis and anti-gringo. More recently the campaign against hoof and mouth disease again fanned anti-American sentiment, because of the widespread belief that American pressure was responsible for the killing of diseased animals. In all of this, Tepoztlán reflected national tendencies.

Local government in Tepoztlán shows many of the characteristics and problems familiar to students of Latin America, and of Mexico in particular, and presents

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probably a semi-autonomous seigniory and occupied a position on a par with Cuernavaca, Yautepec, Xiutepec, Yecapixtla and Hauxtepec. However, under the later Moctezuma, Tepoztlán was for administrative purposes part of the district of Huaxtepec.

Tepoztlán submitted to the conquering troops of Cortés in 1521. Cortés passed through Tepoztlán on his way to Cuernavaca from Yautepec. He set fire to half the town because some Yautepec chieftains who were seeking refuge in the town would not give themselves up. Cortés and his troops stayed in Tepoztlán for only a day. Bernal Díaz del Castillo wrote of this, "There we found many pretty women and much loot."[20] Later, by decree of June 6, 1529, Tepoztlán was one of the four villas granted to Cortés and became part of the Marquesado del Valle de Oaxaca. When Cortés decided to make Cuernavaca the capital of his large estate, Tepoztlán became subject to the corregidor of Cuernavaca. The Spanish Conquest resulted in a marked change in the relative status of the former towns of this area, with Cuernavaca overshadowing Tepoztlán. This change probably began earlier, immediately after the Aztec conquest of Cuernavaca.

Information on political life and local government during the colonial period is scant. We know that the Spanish administrative machinery was set up in Tepoztlán very soon after the Conquest, probably about 1535, and that Tepoztlán was subject to the corregidor of Cuernavaca and the entire administrative machinery of the *audiencia* and the *repartimiento* system. In government as in other aspects of the culture, we find the tendency for the village to change slowly and in one way or another to modify rather than discard its pre-Conquest institutions. In documents of 1551,[21] the earliest one available for Tepoztlán, the major officials enumerated are the *gobernador*, three *alcaldes*, two *principales*, *tequitlatos*, and *calpisques*. The latter three terms undoubtedly refer to officials who held some office in the pre-Conquest administrative organization of the village. The *tequitlatos* were probably those who supervised field work; and the *calpisques* were the tax collectors.

The next significant document is for 1575,[22] eight years after the Crown had taken over the Marquesado del Valle, including Tepoztlán. This document gives the more important officials and the salaries paid to them in pesos, as follows:

1 *gobernador*	50
2 *alcaldes*	30
6 *regidores*	55
2 *mayordomos*	20

Here we find a total of eleven officials receiving 155 pesos annually. In addition, a maximum of fifty persons were employed as church singers, cooks, gardeners, laborers, and stone cutters, at a rate of two pesos each, totaling one hundred pesos a year.

[20] Bernal Díaz del Castillo, *The Conquest of New Spain*, as quoted in Redfield, *Tepoztlán*, p. 26.
[21] *Hospital de Jesús*, Leg. 289, No. 100.
[22] *Indios*, Vol. 1, Exp. 31.

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Another document written four years later gives the fullest account we have of the officials and the political organization of the village.[38] This document lists the same officials as the one of 1575, but in addition lists many others, including the church officials. The document reveals clearly the integration of church and state, and is interesting in that it reveals the existence of a remarkably large government bureaucracy, certainly when compared with present conditions in the village.

From the latter part of the sixteenth century until the nineteenth century we have little data on political history in Tepoztlán. Before the Revolution, from about 1880 to 1910, Tepoztlán was governed by local *caciques* who held power with the aid and support of the Díaz regime. Older informants remember back to the time of the *cacique* Felipe Gómez, who was the president of the municipio for a number of years beginning about 1880. Tradition has it that Gómez was dictatorial. He sold wood from the communal lands to the neighboring haciendas and pocketed the money. He prevented the Tepoztecans from opening *tlacolol* and from producing charcoal for sale. Those who protested were recruited into the army or sent to the penitentiary, Quintana Roo. Finally the villagers rose against him and he was murdered in his house, which was in the center of the village where the new school now stands.

Gómez was followed by Vicente Ortega, a famous *cacique* who was in office from about 1887 to 1910. It was during his regime that the Wells Fargo Company built the Mexico City–Cuernavaca Railroad which runs through the municipio. The coming of the railroad led to much internal tension in the village; it was opposed by Tepoztecans who accused Ortega and the government in power of selling out to the gringos. It is said that Ortega received one peso for each tree cut down by the railroad workers, and that much of the income enriched him. However, it must be noted that this money was also utilized for public improvements in the village. The water pipeline was put in in 1902, the Palacio Municipal was built a few years earlier, the market place was improved, and oil lamps were set up on the main street to provide night lighting.

During the Ortega regime, in 1893, there was a small and abortive attempt to overthrow him. The story of this incident is told in the autobiography of one of my informants and is here paraphased.

> In 1893 a man by the name of Canuto Neri, of the state of Guerrero, headed a small armed uprising against the Díaz government. A Tepoztecan, Roberto Ibarra, sympathized with the movement and sought to enlist support for it in the village. He managed to recruit twenty men who met secretly and Ibarra was made a colonel. Three nights later they started the rebellion by shooting off their guns in the plaza and crying "Death to Vicente Ortega." However, Ortega was not frightened. He armed his servants and waited for the rebels to come for him. But the insurrectionists were frightened and went home. Colonel Ibarra, however, left for the town of Tlayacapan to see his *compadre* Quiroz, who was also in the plan for the uprising and had the rank of general. Ibarra related

[38] *Ibid.*, Exp. 252. See Chapter 4, "Economics: General Aspect and Historical Background," p. 92, for the officials listed in this document.

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what had happened and Quiroz asked many questions, getting the names of each of the rebels. Then Quiroz felt a sudden pride in being able to tell the government, so he called Yautepec and asked them to send troops saying, "Come here quickly for here is the *pájaro de cuenta* (culprit)." Meanwhile Quiroz entertained Colonel Ibarra and had his wife serve a meal. Two hours later the troops arrived and surrounded the house. Quiroz then said, "Compadre, we are besieged. When you came in someone must have seen you and informed the government." Then Ibarra gave himself up.

Ortega voluntarily retired from public life and was followed by a triumvirate consisting of Demetrio Rojas, José Donaciano Navarrette, and Don Pedro Mesa. This group took over the responsibility for the administration of the communal resources and were most unpopular because of their refusal to permit Tepoztecans the use of the communal lands.

The first serious threat to the dominant position of the *caciques* in the village occurred in 1909, just on the eve of the Revolution. The occasion was the contest for state governor. The Díaz candidate Escandón was opposed by Patricio Leyva. The village divided and a Comité Liberal Tepozteco was formed with Leyva as its candidate. The leaders of the pro-Leyva group were Refugio Sánchez, Esequiel Labastida, and Bernabel Labastida, all of whom were later to become Zapatistas. The slogan of Leyva was "Down with Porfirio Díaz." Demetrio Rojas imprisoned Bernabel Labastida and had him sent to Quintana Roo on what informants say were trumped-up charges of robbery. In addition, they had the support of two Tepoztecans who had been living in Mexico City since 1901, Tranquilino Hernández of the barrio of Santo Domingo, and Carlos Ortiz Rojas of La Santísima. The men were members of the Typographical Union of Mexico City and had helped found the Confederación Regional de Obreros Mexicanos, known as CROM, one of the first Mexican labor organizations. These two Tepoztecans later played an important role in the political life of the village during the twenties.

Escandón won the governorship, and apparently the Díaz regime was in. But suddenly in 1910 the Revolution broke out in the north and it was not long before it started up in Morelos. It should be noted in this connection that Tepoztlán was one of the first places in the state of Morelos to join the Revolution.

Few villages in Mexico have suffered more than Tepoztlán during the Revolution. In February, 1911, more than a year before Zapata's call for revolt in Morelos, Tepoztlán was liberated from the rule of the local *caciques* and the Díaz days were over. The village was the scene of repeated invasions, first by rebel troops and then by government forces. From the start the villagers' sympathies were with the rebels. The promise of land was a great appeal, but for a time the Tepoztecans attempted to continue their normal routines and remain neutral in the impending struggles. This was impossible, since neither the Zapatistas nor the Federales would have it that way.

The Zapatistas recruited soldiers and demanded services from the villagers, just as did the Carrancistas later on. The difference, however, was that most of the villagers helped the former voluntarily but were forced to help the latter. As a rule

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the Zapatista forces rarely were stationed in the village for more than a few days at a time since they were guerrilla fighters.

The Federales, on the other hand, set up troops whenever they could hold the village. Tepoztecans suffered at the hands of both the rebels and the government forces. Cattle were killed off, corn was requisitioned, women raped. Most informants attribute to the Carrancistas the greatest brutalities. Because of the pro-rebel sympathies of Tepoztecans, the government forces on a number of occasions carried off hundreds of Tepoztecan men and women as hostages to Cuernavaca and Mexico City. Tepoztecans were suspected of secretly helping the Zapatista forces, and by removing the women to Cuernavaca the government prevented them from making tortillas for the rebels. Moreover, the village was partially burned by Federales in 1912, 1913, and 1914.

By 1915 the village was in the hands of the Carrancistas, but then the Zapatista counter-offensive began and Tepoztlán again changed hands. During 1914, 1915, and 1916 the villagers fled to the *cerros* and lived there for as long as six months at a time. The men would sometimes steal back to the village to pick up some fruit or supplies and to bury their dead.

During 1916 Tepoztlán suffered a severe typhoid epidemic, thought to have been brought by the Carrancista troops. It was not until 1918 that the fighting was definitely over.

The history of the Revolution in Tepoztlán demonstrates a fundamental lack of unity among the people. Within the first few months after the revolt began, some of the ablest Tepoztecan rebel leaders had killed off one another and the village was left with no leadership. Only a handful of Tepoztecans understood the ideals of the Zapata movement and were motivated by them. Most Tepoztecans, though attracted by the promises that they would be given the lands of the neighboring haciendas, joined the conflict only when it was absolutely necessary in terms of self-defense. Were it not for the terrible abuses of the Federales it is probable that most Tepoztecans would have remained neutral.

In getting accounts of the Revolution from informants we found that many, particularly the women, had only the vaguest notion of what the Revolution was about. The following excerpts paraphrased from the life stories of informants give some of the details of life during the difficult days of the Revolution:

At first I gave little attention to the beginning of the Revolution. I saw soldiers, Federales, in the Palacio Municipal. They seemed alarmed and on the alert. They wore black hats with pompoms. I asked my father what this all meant and he told me the Revolution was coming. And so it came to pass. In February or March of 1911 Gabriel Tepepa and Lucio Moreno, the latter from the village of Gabriel Mariaca, entered the village at the head of troops. There was no battle. All I heard were cries, "Viva Madero," "Viva la Virgen de Gaudalupe." Then the people in my barrio were alarmed and little groups began to form to ask what was happening. I learned that the Revolution had begun and that they had burned the documents in the municipal archives. They looked for the *caciques* but could not find them, for they had heard the attack on the Palacio and had fled. The revolutionaries then broke into the *cacique* houses and ransacked them. Lucio

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Moreno and Tepepa were here only one day; they just passed through. They were guerrilla fighters and left for the *cerros*. Although the *cacique* families had fled there were no demonstrations in the village. Everyone remained silent.

The trouble really began when my uncle, the brother of my mother, Bernabel Labastida of the barrio of San Miguel, entered the village a short while after Moreno. He found Moreno in power here. Moreno had established his headquarters behind the *cerro* Chicuasemac. Labastida had returned to take vengeance upon the *caciques* who had sent him to Quintana Roo. When he found that they had gone he sought out the brother of one of them, a Cresenciano Guzmán, and executed him. He also killed Jesús Mora.

At this time the greater part of the villagers was behind the rebels. Many joined up with them. The rebels put guards at three points—Chalchi, Huilotepec, and Celotzin, all dominating *cerros*. It was the duty of the *pacíficos* to take turns at watching. Two men were put at each of the three points. They were to signal the approach of troops by setting off an explosion. The rebels had 50-calibre Remingtons, 44-calibre rifles, and a few U. S. Winchesters. Some had their own *escopetas de pistón* in which they had to pack powder for each shot. Some had 38-calibre pistols.

The first attack came in Gabriel Mariaca about April when Patricio Leyva tried to enter the village at the head of Federal troops. He was met by his old friend Labastida, who now opposed him. Leyva and his troops got into the church. The battle lasted all afternoon. Meanwhile the villagers went up to the top of Chalchi to watch the battle. It was obvious that they sympathized with the rebels, for they wore red scrapes as if to indicate that they wanted blood. The Federales retreated during the night.

Labastida had his headquarters on the site of Tlatlocapan just above the barrio of San Pedro on the outskirts of the village. On May 11 he imprisoned José Gómez and planned to have him executed. The Gómez family complained to Lucio Moreno. Moreno came to see Labastida with the idea of assassinating him because of the excesses he was committing. The two leaders met and shot one another. Thus both leaders of the Revolution in Tepoztlán were killed within the first few months. Teófolo Martínez was named head of both groups of troops. But Martínez was not a Tepoztecan and he fell out with Refugio Sánchez, another Tepoztecan leader. Martínez wanted to elope with the daughter of Refugio and when Refugio protested he was arrested by Martínez. Tepoztecans came to his aid and killed Martínez.

About ninety per cent of the troops defending the village were Tepoztecans. In all there were about 200 armed men. But when the battles began the *pacíficos* were expected to help. The *ayudantes* from each of the *demarcaciones* of the village collected tortillas twice a day in large sacks and carried them to the soldiers. Most women gave the tortillas voluntarily. Only the families of the *caciques* were against the rebels. Many women went to the church to pray for the rebels. The rebel generals ordered the citizens to cut poles, light them, and group together in large numbers on the *cerros* to give the enemy the impression of a large army.

In 1912 Federal troops took the village and set up their headquarters in the church. In March of this year the Zapatistas attacked.

In 1914 and 1915 there were people in the village under the control of the Zapatistas. At the end of 1914 most of the people left for the *cerros*. In 1915 and also in 1916 there was much planting. But in September, 1916, almost all of the population left for the *cerros*.

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175
669 In March, 1916, the Carrancistas came and we escaped. We went to Jiutepec, my father and I. I feared they might get us. Some took up arms to defend themselves. We heard some women say that the Carrancistas were not molesting the *pacíficos* so we went back to Santa Catarina to learn more about true conditions. We heard that all we had to do was to show a white flag. We did, with our three animals. At about the place of the present kilometer 16 on the road, we were stopped. They wanted to take our animals but we pleaded and they let us go. When we got back to the village we found that a couple were living in our house. The man was a sub-lieutenant of the Carrancistas. This helped us very much for at that time the Carrancistas were compelling the people to work as forced laborers.

Formerly, in the time of Zapatismo we had paper money and lots of bills but we couldn't buy anything. Prices were high. A small piece of soap cost 60, 70 pesos. A plate of soup cost three pesos. Silver was scarce. In 1912 and 1913 there was still some silver but by 1914 and 1915 paper money ruined confidence and prices soared. But in 1916 with the Carrancistas there was a great change. Money was recognized by the government and prices went down. In 1914-15 there was a commercial blockade of Morelos and that is why prices went up.

The Carrancistas paid well at first for any work done, and trade again flourished in the village. For a while the blockade was over. But by June the situation again changed. General Marino and Timoteo Sánchez were among those who broke the Carrancista line and put up their headquarters in nearby Tlayacapan. And the Zapatistas began their successful counter-offensive. In August, 1916, the Zapatistas took over the village, but left after one day.

[164] From March to early July of 1916 things were bad in the village. Julio Quiroz was the president and he tyrannized all the Zapatistas. Jesús de Mesa was the secretary. There was a great typhoid epidemic. They buried about ten a day. Our business [making coffins] increased. We thought the Carrancistas brought the epidemic. On August 16 the Zapatistas killed many Carrancistas and the local government fled.

After the successful Zapatista attack of August, Tepoztecans went to the Carrancista governor of the state of Morelos, General Dionesio Carrión, to ask for guarantees for the village because the Carrancista soldiers who came in after a successful attack were killing peaceful citizens.

Gabriel Rojas was appointed as president of the municipio, and my father was secretary for a while. But then the Zapatistas attacked and now they remained in the Chalchi Cerro while the Carrancista troops occupied the Cerro del Tepozteco and Cuaiyolwalotzin. Now the village was caught in the crossfire of the battle. The Carrancistas kept using artillery against the Zapatistas who held their fire.

We fled to the Cerro de Cematzin on the side of the Zapatistas. We were there two days. The Carrancistas climbed Chalchi and began to fire on the *pacíficos*. Again we fled to a cave. We had no tortillas. We feared the Carrancistas were encircling us. We fled to the Cerro de Barriga del Plata, then to the Cerro de Algodonar. Now it was dark and we entered the *texcal* area towards Amatlán. We ate some green corn and I became ill with fever. We ate only *guayavas* and *calabazas* that we found. Since the situation looked very bad we decided we might better go to Cuernavaca. (During this time my mother was in the village with the other children.) We entered Cuernavaca at night. My father carried me half of the way.

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In February of 1917 the Carrancistas left the village and the Tepoztecans began to return from the *cerros* and nearby villages where they were dispersed. We were left without animals and in complete poverty.

By 1919 the state of Morelos began to be pacified. The state governor appointed Jesús Monroy, a non-Tepoztecan and a military man, to serve as president of the municipio of Tepoztlán. Monroy called meetings of the populace and advised them that the time of civil war and recriminations was over and they must now attempt to normalize their lives and rebuild village life. But work was scarce because of the destruction of the neighboring haciendas during the war years. Monroy therefore organized the Tepoztecans into brigades, gave them axes, and paid them a daily wage for cutting down the forests and making charcoal which he sold. At first Tepoztecans cooperated but soon this led to bitter resentment, for the communal forest resources were being depleted and this was the only wealth the village had. Indeed, the political history of the village for the next twenty years centered on the issue of the preservation of the communal resources. On the whole the ex-Zapatistas led the group favoring the conservation of this resource, while the sons of the former *caciques* led the group in favor of the continued exploitation of these resources.

To understand the political developments in the village we must turn briefly to Mexico City where an organization called Colonia Tepozteco was formed. This was an organization of Tepoztecans who had left the village before or during the Revolution. The organizers were Don José Donaciano Rojas, Mariano Rojas, Jesús Conde, and Pablo García. The aims of the organization were to be purely cultural and non-political. They were to work for the elimination of illiteracy, the preservation of the native Náhuatl, the development of a broad civic interest among Tepoztecans, and finally, "To take a direct interest, moral and practical, in the designation of the local authorities of the pueblo, so as to realize the aspiration of the Colonia." [24]

The first important act of the Colonia was to get the governor of the state of Morelos to substitute a Tepoztecan, José Oliveros, then living in Mexico City, as the president of the municipio. But the Colonia did nothing to stop the large scale production of charcoal. This led to a split within the ranks of the Colonia as well as among the villagers. Carlos Ortiz and Tranquilino Hernández, members of the Colonia, began to form an opposition group. These men were socialistically minded and urged upon the Colonia Tepozteco that they concentrate their efforts on the economic problems of the village. As a first step they demanded the preservation of the communal forest resources. When the Colonia turned down their plan, Ortiz and Hernández resigned and accused the organization of attempting to re-establish the old social system based upon *cacique* rule.

Meanwhile, in early 1922 a group of Tepoztecans led by Dimas Martínez of the barrio of La Santísima organized a group of about thirteen Tepoztecans. They pro-

[24] Redfield, *Tepoztlán*, p. 210.

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tested to the president of the local government against the continued depletion of the forest resources. When the president paid no attention to their demands they went directly to the governor of the state, José G. Parres. Parres had himself been a revolutionary and a sympathizer of Zapata. He advised them to form a peasant organization. Upon this advice, and with the prompting of Carlos Ortiz and Tranquilino Hernández of Mexico City, they formed the Unión de Campesinos Tepoztecos. The Unión began to organize the peasants in the smaller and poorer barrios of the village, Santa Cruz, San Sebastián, and San Pedro.[25] When they gained some strength they openly joined the CROM and thereafter were called "Bolsheviki" by their political opponents in the village. The village was now clearly divided into two factions, the Bolsheviki vs. the Centrales. The former was led primarily by ex-Zapatistas, the latter by the sons of the ex-*caciques*. The main slogans of the Bolsheviki were "Conserve the Communal Resources" and "Stop the Exploitation of the Forests."

The Bolsheviki now openly used the red and black flag of the CROM as their emblem and began to organize demonstrations in the village. They went as a group to the office of the president to protest the continued depletion of the forests. The president jailed the leaders for a few days and then sent them on to Cuernavaca. An informant, a leader in the Bolsheviki, described the incident as follows:

> We marched to Cuernavaca in perfect formation holding aloft the red and black flag which was our emblem. As we entered Cuernavaca we shouted in unison, "Arriba los huarachudos!" "Abajo los caciques!" [Up with the wearers of huaraches! Down with the *caciques*!] "Abajo los aristócratas! Arriba la CROM." [Down with the aristocrats. Up with the CROM.] This yelling of slogans continued until we reached the palace of the governor where we were jailed on charges of sedition for having raised the red and black flag in the municipal building. After some days we were released from jail through the efforts in Mexico City of Ortiz and Hernández. At once we bought cloth to make a new flag. Then we formed a column and marched back to Tepoztlán. At the entrance of the village near the Cerro del Tesoro, we were joined by about a hundred sympathizers and we all marched through the streets of the village shouting our slogans. In this fashion we passed by the offices of the presidency and insulted the president. But he only shut the door. Soon our demonstration was over. The next day we accompanied the delegate from the CROM, who had been with us, to the railroad at El Parque. In his farewell address he advised us strongly against violence.

Encouraged by their release from Cuernavaca and the attitude of the governor, the Unión de Campesinos Tepoztecos grew in numbers and influence and soon succeeded in having the acting president deposed and one of their own men installed. But no sooner was their own man in office when the Centrales organized a delegation to the governor and returned with new instructions deposing the Bolsheviki president. This struggle went on all through 1922 and 1923, during which time nine local governments fell.

[25] The Bolsheviki, like the church, used the barrio rather than the *demarcación* as the unit for their organization.

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In 1923 the national presidential campaign for Calles began and the Unión, under the guidance of Ortiz and Hernández, backed Calles. But the revolt of Huerta against Obregón occurred at this time, and Ortiz and Hernández came to Tepoztlán to organize the village against Huerta. The Hernández brothers of Tepoztlán, ex-Zapatistas, joined the troops of Don Genova de la O, head of operations in the state of Morelos for the Obregón forces. Ortiz obtained about fifty 30-30 rifles for the Hernández brothers and other active members of the Unión who were anti-Huerta. The Huerta revolt was put down and the Unión became stronger in the village.

In 1924, 1925, 1926, and 1927, the Unión succeeded in having its slate of candidates elected to the local government. It was during the term of office of Rafael Gutiérrez that the Bolsheviki revived the village *cuatequil*, which had not functioned since the pre-Revolution days, and built the public washing places, improved the market places, and paved many streets.

In the latter part of 1926 the Cristeros entered Tepoztlán but were repulsed by Tepoztecans who were organized by the Hernández brothers. This increased the prestige of the Bolsheviki in the village, but their domination was not to last long. Toward the latter part of 1927 the Centrales became active politically and were armed by the newly appointed head of operations for the state of Morelos, Juan Domínguez. Now both village factions had arms. In December of 1927 the Hernández brothers of Tepoztlán declared themselves in rebellion against the local authorities. At this point some of the Bolsheviki members of the local government fled to Mexico City.

The Centrales, led by Juan Hidalgo, now organized armed defense corps known as the Defensa Social and the village was again in the throes of a minor civil war. The Hernández brothers and their followers had many sympathizers in the village. They killed Valentín Ortiz, whom they considered a *cacique* and therefore an enemy.

In February of 1928 on the day of the Carnaval, the Hernández brothers entered the village masked as *chinelos* and carrying arms under their robes. The corps of the Defensa Social, who were on guard and armed, were taken completely by surprise. The rebels disrobed and opened fire, seeking to kill the leaders of the opposition. But in the struggle many innocent men, women, and children were killed. The casualties at the end of that day were twenty-two dead and about twenty-four wounded. With this massacre the Unión de Campesinos Tepoztecos came to an end. Carlos Ortiz and Tranquilino Hernández kept out of the state of Morelos for a long while, and within a few years three of the Hernández brothers were tracked down and shot by government forces. The remaining two were shot by relatives of the victims of the massacre of 1928.

In 1929, under the leadership of Luis Quiroz, the Unión made a come-back in the form of a new organization known as the Fraternales. A meeting of about forty Tepoztecans was held in the school and an organization called the Unión Fraternal de Campesinos Tepoztecos was formed. Its slogan was "Union, Justice, and Civili-

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665 185 175 zation." It had two major projects: first, the building of a road to join the village to Cuernavaca, and second, the preservation of the forests. The road building project tended to unite the village temporarily although opposition to the idea was not lacking, especially from owners of mules who feared the road would hurt their business. But the Fraternales were less successful in their attempt to preserve the forests.

175 474 314 [665] [127] In 1930, Tepoztecans organized the Cooperativa Forestal Central de Tepoztlán for the purpose of producing charcoal. The story of this cooperative deserves to be told in detail, because it reflects so clearly the schisms and conflicting interests in the village. The story given here was obtained from leaders of the cooperative and leaders of the opposition group, the Fraternales. In addition, documents and reports concerning the cooperative were obtained from the Departamento Forestal in Mexico City.

Tepoztecans and inhabitants of the other villages of the municipio of Tepoztlán had traditionally relied upon the forest resources for their firewood and charcoal, and a handful of Tepoztecans had specialized in the making of charcoal which was sold locally. The forest resources constituted an important part of the subsistence economy. While the sale of wood outside of the village occurred, for example to the Hacienda of Oacalco, it was never on a large scale. For such enterprises [656] Tepoztecans were required to obtain a permit from the municipal authorities for 50 centavos a week.

In the early twenties the village of San Juan, taking advantage of its proximity to the railroad which runs through the village, and because of its limited agricultural resources, began to develop the charcoal industry on a commercial scale and exported large quantities of charcoal to Mexico City. In 1926 the villagers organized a forestry cooperative to meet the requirements of the national forestry law of 1926.[26] This was the first cooperative in the state of Morelos.

The authorities of Tepoztlán challenged the right of the village of San Juan to cut large numbers of trees from forests which were municipal rather than village property, and the residents of San Juan were prohibited from cutting trees. But they appealed their case directly to the national authorities, maintaining that the mountains in question were village property. [648] The dispute was bitter and accompanied by some violence. It was finally settled by the intervention of federal authorities who ruled that the municipio had legal title to the land in question. In March, 1930, Tepoztlán organized its own cooperative to which the villagers of San Juan were admitted.

Juan Hidalgo, a poor young man from the central barrio of Santo Domingo, became president of the cooperative. Under his leadership the cooperative grew and prospered. In a short while it had over five hundred members, ninety-five per cent

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[648] [26] This was Mexico's first serious attempt to legislate for the conservation of its forest resources. The law took control of forest resources out of the hands of local municipal authorities and provided that permission from the forestry authorities was necessary before any trees could be cut.

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of whom were Tepoztecans. The cooperative was organized according to a plan suggested by the authorities in Cuernavaca. It had a directive body consisting of a president, secretary, and treasurer. The cooperative bought the charcoal from its members at the price of thirty-five pesos a *tonelado*. But it deducted eight per cent for handling expenses, including payment of the tax to the forestry department, salary for the secretary, and for office equipment.

The cooperative became a powerful force in the village, and entered into politics. Its president, Juan Hidalgo, was elected president of the municipio in 1933 and 1934. In this capacity, Hidalgo was able to use the funds of the cooperative for public works and thereby gained much popularity. Under Hidalgo's leadership the cooperative sponsored the repair of the municipal building, the construction of the few public toilets in the courthouse, the construction of a school in the barrio of Los Reyes, and one in the outlying villages of San Juan, Santiago, and Ocotitlán.

Juan Hidalgo became wealthy and powerful. An informant, sympathetic to Hidalgo, explained how this happened.

> In spite of the fact that Hidalgo began very poor he earned much money. He controlled the funds of the cooperative and made many loans to his friends and *compadres* in the village. He had in his hands the credit of the village, for anyone who needed a loan had to come to him. This way he became very powerful. In his hands was the economic fate of many. He could make them or break them.

Hidalgo had many enemies, especially the leaders of the former cooperative of the village of San Juan. In 1935 he was shot and killed. Informants blamed the killing on residents of San Juan. In the village itself the cooperative was fought by the Fraternales. But the prospects of an immediate income could not be resisted by the Tepoztecans, and the cooperative won out in the early years. After Hidalgo's death, however, the cooperative began to decline. The succeeding president was accused of financial irregularities and fled the village for his life. An investigator from the Departamento Agrario confirmed the accusation and charged all the officials with negligence. The major burden of blame fell on the president; and since he had fled, nothing could be done.

After the death of Hidalgo, the candidate of the Fraternales was elected president, and many difficulties were placed in the path of the cooperative. The president denounced the cooperative to the federal forest authorities for excessive and illegal cutting of trees. The authorities investigated and fined the cooperative and finally in 1937, the cooperative went into bankruptcy and was dissolved.

The political history of the village since the middle thirties is given in the following account, written for me by an informant who has been close to the local government throughout this period. His account gives the reader something of the local flavor of politics, with its buying of votes "by dint of a few glasses of pulque," the drunkenness and petty thievery of officials, and the bitterness between local political factions. His use of the term "Bolsheviki" in referring to the Fraternales reflects the identification of the two in the minds of many Tepoztecans.

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ADMINISTRATION OF 1935–36

175 665 666 [646] In 1934 the candidates came up for the state elections. There were three contenders, Francisco Alvarez, J. Guadalupe Pineda, and Refugio Bustamante. Most Tepoztecans were Alvaristas. Pineda ranked second, and Bustamante, with less than thirty followers, ranked third. But since Bustamante was the official candidate, he became the governor of the state. As a result, the members of the town council had to be Bustamantistas. The few Bustamantistas and the Pinedistas joined forces and elected Leonardo Sánchez and Carlos Labastida, Bustamantistas; and Marcos Flores, who represented the *ejido* faction in the village. The townspeople were their unyielding enemies, and the most scandalous days in Tepoztecan politics followed. The new council took office on January 1, 1935. The opposition party began to criticize the members of the council. One member of the opposition was Jesús Conde. When the municipal president learned that this Conde was criticizing the council, he waited for an opportunity to attack him.

175 665 Once when Conde was in a drunken state he struck a certain Angel Hernández with his pistol. The municipal president sent his chief of police to apprehend Conde and put him in the public jail. On the following day, when they brought him out to question him about his crime, Conde's anger had not lessened, and in the very council chamber he stated that it was a well-known and notorious fact that the incumbent council was a nullity. As the municipal president also continued to be angry, the matter went to the department head of the Ministerio Público. The matter even reached the ears of the governor of the state at that time.

On March 23, 1935, at about eleven o'clock in the morning, an envoy arrived at the municipal presidency stating that the president of the republic, General Lázaro Cárdenas, was approaching the town on account of the matter of the monument, "El Tepozteco." The council sent messengers from one place to another proposing a reception, conferring with the band, some of whose members were not in town. That day the president reached the town by rail and returned by truck to Cuernavaca, via a road which had been laid out and built by some citizens of the town about 1930. Among the persons making up the reception committee was Jesús Conde, who brought up among other problems that of the highway of Cuernavaca. On the first of April, 1935, work on the highway began, with the help of Cárdenas.

175 665 666 About the middle of April, there were elections to select deputies to the state legislature. The candidates for this district were Daniel Ramos Mendoza and the alternate, Juan Hidalgo, ex-municipal president of this town. As the council took its seat first, the people of the candidate for alternate deputy counted on plenty of enemies. On election day, as was usual, the people were milling around in the central streets from early in the morning, awaiting the time of the recount to deposit the votes bought by dint of a few glasses of pulque [17] and some barbecued meat. After midday, their spirits began to rise as a result of the pulque. The municipal president sent the police to pacify the turbulent ones. The police were received with blows and stones. The voters, heated by alcohol and by the anger they felt toward the council, saw that it was a propitious occasion to revenge themselves somehow upon their political rivals, and throwing themselves upon the police they succeeded in taking away their weapons. Some of the troublemakers were arrested. They succeeded in sending a lawyer, who insulted the municipal president in the council chamber and achieved, by shouts and insults, the liberation of the troublemakers.

[17] Tepoztecans generally do not drink pulque.

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[1935-1936]

During these months, the municipal president and the councilmen ruled that the sellers of pork should slaughter the animals in the municipal slaughterhouse. The meat dealers accepted, but little by little they began to make difficulties, disobeying the orders of the municipal authority. The butchers were quite right because the little shed built by the council did not meet their needs. The council forgot the projects it had laid out, and because of the reduced state of the municipal exchequer, and the very few people who would help the council in any undertaking, it resigned itself to completing the paving of a few streets in the town. 175 646

Among the people upon whom the council counted were the Bolsheviki, who from the beginning adhered to the Bustamantistas. That group controlled what was then the National Revolutionary Party which at that time owned good office equipment which passed on to the municipal president. But in the month of May, without explanation, the Bolsheviki elements quarrelled with the municipal president, and in vengeance took back all the furniture from his office, leaving the clerks there with only two or three rickety chairs. Finding the office without furniture, they went to the Cooperative Forestry Association, at that time in enemy hands, to ask for a half dozen chairs. As a result of this quarrel the municipal president was completely abandoned, without friends; there remained only a few Bolsheviki who were loyal to the president's office. 175 665

On the twenty-fourth of June, Juan Hidalgo, the victorious alternate candidate for local deputy, celebrated his saint's day. This gentleman was in the market place completely drunk. At about seven-thirty in the evening when the employees had just left the municipal offices, loud detonations were heard in front of the Town Hall, where there was a party of federal troops. Those who had attacked the Town Hall divided into two groups, some went toward the federal troops and some went toward Juan Hidalgo's house where they proceeded to drag him from his home by force and take him to be murdered on the edge of town. It was learned afterward that the municipal president at that time had come to an agreement with the attackers, according to investigations made afterward which were never brought to light.

About that time the local comptroller (*regidor de hacienda*), Carlos Labastida, was very fond of alcoholic beverages. He used to go behind the Town Hall with his bottles of liquor and offer drinks to the federal troops. The commanding officer of the detachment became aware of this and succeeded in having the aforesaid functionary relieved of his position. They called up the alternate, who was then Pablo Gómez, a completely ignorant person. About the month of October, when the completion of the highway was almost at hand, the council began to organize the work for the inauguration of the highway by creating its governing board. [661] [646]

One Sunday, while the comptroller was presiding over a meeting concerning the work of organizing the inauguration, the same group, which had come to attack them before, entered the town again, going as far as the meeting place and threatening the comptroller. They made all those present shout "Long live the Virgin of Guadalupe!", which they all shouted with a single voice, to avoid being beaten or murdered by the opposition. Among the bandits was one from this place who was nicknamed Juan the Drum,[*] who fell into the hands of the municipal president, as will be seen later.

The ninth of January, 1936, was the day of the inauguration of the highway; attending were the governor of the state and the secretary of communications and public works.

[*] John the Liar.

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[1935-1936]

175 665 representing the president of Mexico. The ceremony progressed in a humble manner, with a simple meal being served to the guests in the parlors of the *ayuntamiento*, paid for by the state government with some help from the township. It was nearing the time of Carnaval when the municipal president was drinking with a few friends, some of whom were already drunk. One of them lived in the barrio of La Santísima, and the municipal president was on the alert, carrying a good pistol which the governor of the state had sent him. It was about eight in the evening. They came near the corner of La Santísima, when there appeared a suspicious looking person wrapped in a serape. The municipal president threw himself upon him without saying a word, and succeeded in knocking him down. The man was carrying a rifle concealed in his serape. They turned a flashlight on him and were able to recognize that he was the so-called Juan the Drum. At the moment in which he was recognized, he made a supreme effort to flee and succeeded in slipping away, and as he took flight the municipal president made use of his pistol and hit the man. The man was brought to the Town Hall and later was taken to Cuernavaca. He died on the way.

175 646 665 Politics was still at its apogee, and the council continued to be the target of every criticism. Someone of the opposite party proposed that the council be deposed. One day the people began to riot in the public gardens, as if it were an election day. There was a table and a number of people around it, taking part as if they were electing a candidate. The municipal president and the rest of the *regidores* had noticed it, and began to spread the alarm to his adherents, all Bolsheviki, so that he should not be alone. The people were awaiting the arrival of a representative of the League of Agrarian Communities,* and as soon as he arrived, they set out en masse toward the municipal president's office to request by main force that he should resign. But they did not succeed. The municipal president pointed out to them that there was among them no representative of the state government to declare legal that which they requested. The people attached to the municipal president found themselves only spectators, since no one came up with a solution, and they left the municipal president to defend himself.

[548] Soon afterward, the municipal president came down with a venereal disease. A house of prostitution had opened in Tepoztlán some months before, and the president had gone there almost daily. As his illness pursued its course he was obliged to go to Mexico City to have it attended to. He began by taking a furlough of seventy days from his office, leaving in his place the comptroller. At this time the acting comptroller was a teacher who was not from the town but who was in with the municipal president for reasons which were not clear. Taking advantage of the president's absence, the opposing politicians plotted to get rid of him without fulfilling the legal requirements. When he returned from Mexico City he found that instead of the comptroller officiating, the alternate municipal president was in office. The municipal president protested, pointing out that it was contrary to the law, and after a great deal of excitement he again took charge.

[666] The time for seeking new candidates for the municipal presidency arrived. Fortino Guzmán was the candidate for the League of Agrarian Communities, and Rafael Gutiérrez for the Fraternales. Rafael Gutiérrez also was of the party of the council. The council was fighting desperately to get a successor from its own party. They were conferring every moment with the deputies and in some cases even the governor himself, who told them that victory was assured.

* This organization worked with the Centrales against the Bolsheviki and the Fraternales.

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[1935–1936]

The day of the elections and days before, the council had sent messages to the municipal councils so that they should try to spread propaganda as much as possible in favor of their candidate. That election day, in spite of the fact that the League had spread a lot of propaganda, the candidate Rafael Gutiérrez won. The case was completely certain, and the council was congratulating itself. 175 665 666 646

Before the installation of Rafael Gutiérrez on the first of January, 1937, the computing body had already extended him his credentials. It was the twenty fourth of December, when after the employees at the municipal president's office had gone home leaving everything in its place, it was noted upon opening the office the next day that one of the doors was wide open and that a typewriter was missing. Later it was learned that someone of the opposite party had entered the president's office and removed the typewriter. Now the installation was only two or three days off. The candidate Rafael Gutiérrez went to the municipal president's office to register his credentials which the computing body had given him.

Then, one afternoon about five o'clock, there appeared a group of men led by Pedro Flores, to present to the municipal president an official publication in which the state Congress declared that the municipal president was Fortino Guzmán! (He had availed himself of the help of some friends in the city of Cuernavaca who were close to the state Congress.) When the municipal president learned this he immediately informed Rafael Gutiérrez who told him what had happened and immediately yielded, pointing out that if superior authority declared it so, there was no help for it. The municipal president and the rest of the *regidores* immediately left for Cuernavaca to interview the governor of the state, but he answered them that he had nothing to do with the matter since the state Congress had declared it so. They came back completely downcast, and that was the end of this administration of 1935–36.

ADMINISTRATION OF 1939–40

Before January 1, 1939, Donaciano Linares was elected municipal president to officiate in the period 1939–40 with Serafín Velásquez and Rafael Gutiérrez. The candidates Donaciano Linares and Serafín Velásquez belonged to the then famous League of Agrarian Communities, and Rafael Gutiérrez belonged to the Fraternales. The new municipal president bought himself a black suit for the installation. The day of the installation there were people of the two political parties, the council having been made up in the following form: President, Donaciano Linares; Attorney General, Serafín Velásquez; and (*regidor*), Rafael Gutiérrez. 175 646 665

The municipal president had in his service his brother as chief of police. Since both were rather fond of drink, there were occasions when they fought with each other in public. Once when the municipal president was drunk, he had a few silver pesos in his pockets, and went to the market and began to drink toasts, at the same time striking his pockets to make his money jingle to show how much he had. On another occasion, there was a woman in the market whom he disliked considerably, and when he recognized her he began to insult her with vile words until he grew tired of it. In the Town Hall there were quarrels even among the *regidores*, especially with the comptroller who was not of their party. The comptroller did not allow himself to be insulted and constantly threatened the municipal president with sending word to the governor of the state. 175 646 661

Since this municipal president was one of the most politically minded men in town, during his administration he dedicated himself to giving banquets to influential people,

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[1939-1940]

175 646 661 among them the governor of the state, the local deputies, and the federal deputies. He was helped by some friends of his backed up by the employees. The comptroller, who scarcely liked to drink at all, occasionally took the president home when the latter was too drunk to walk.

[253] The attorney general, who was charged with listing all the animals that were slaughtered in the municipal slaughterhouse, was known to let some stolen animals pass, from which he received a share of the profit. Other people said that these were mere calumnies, but the real truth was never known, namely, that he stayed simply to help at the slaughtering time and to take some pieces of meat or a bucket of blood which he used for food.

The municipal president, in turn, was sometimes known to be playing a bad game, that is, if some person had some problems he sold favors, charging a few pesos. There was a concrete case. A young man tried to rape a girl one evening. The members of the family immediatçly went to the Town Hall to ask for help from the police. The young man was caught and taken to the municipal jail. The next day the members of his family succeeded in bribing the municipal president with 20 pesos. The municipal president there told the boy to say that he was very sick at his stomach. The boy did so, and since the municipal president could not pronounce judgment then, he tried to have the girl's family desist from their claim and threatened to fine them. They withdrew very calmly, without knowing they had been deceived. Various cases of this kind were seen during this administration, sometimes by agreement with the attorney general but almost never with the comptroller, because the latter had occupied posts of this nature before, and did not wish it to turn out badly again.

There were times when this municipal president went to see one or another of the business men who had unsettled accounts with the municipal treasury. He would order beer or something else and say, "Charge this up to your contribution." Then he would tell the municipal treasurer that he owed money in such and such a tavern. The same thing happened with the butchers; he would go and ask for a kilo or two of meat and charge it to the account of the butcher's license to slaughter cattle in the municipal slaughterhouse. When the butchers were killing beef cattle he willingly assisted them, so that they would give him a piece of meat.

175 648 Once when the neighboring people of Tejalpa had violated the boundaries and were trying to invade the lands of this township, the matter reached the ears of the council, who immediately proceeded to call a meeting of all the citizens. With the support of the guard, which existed in the town, they marched toward the place where the aforesaid violation had occurred. When they got there, the people from here, who numbered about 150 armed men, with the municipal president at their head, threw themselves upon the men from Tejalpa; and an engineer, commissioned by the Department of Agriculture, was disarmed and taken prisoner to this place. The rest of the men from Tejalpa were put in the public prison. The engineer tried to protest, but his protests had no effect.

175 646 661 Several months after his installation as president, Donaciano Linares bought a little car; no one knew how. He began to drive it in the evenings on the highway, sometimes having an accident, hitting an animal or another car. But since he was the municipal president hardly anyone protested. During his administration the budget improved a little, a typewriter was bought. But he carried it off to his house about two days before the installation of the succeeding council. The same thing happened with a wall clock which was bought in this period. He tried to take it away, but he did not succeed because the other councillors prevented him.

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[1939-1940]

During this administration there were some efforts to complete the highway between Tepoztlán and Yautepec. After many attempts the administration succeeded in getting the state government to send a few men to work. They completed a small stretch of road. At the end of the administration, the municipal president began to work in politics, with the aim of leaving some friend or relative of his as his successor. He even began to inform the towns in the township of the official slate, and he was quite involved because he was leaving his stepfather as the future attorney general. This slate was victorious, as may be easily understood, since there was no opposition candidate. The municipal president organized a dance for the installation, as a symbol of his satisfaction with his administrative effort, although almost nothing was done during his term, except the paving of a few streets.

175 646 661

ADMINISTRATION OF 1941–42

On the eighth of December, 1940, the victory was won by the only candidate for the municipal presidency, with the other councillors whose names were as follows: President, Fulgencio Campos; Attorney General, Saturnino Córdova; and Comptroller, Fortino Lara. To complete the installation, a lively dance was organized in the market place at eight in the evening on December thirty-first, and at ten the following morning the transferring of the municipal powers was accomplished. Shortly after the installation the municipal president called together all the councillors and employees of the township, and when they were all together he spoke to them, pointing out the errors that the previous council had committed, with relation to the frequent drinking sprees of the municipal president and all the employees. He proposed that if any one of them wanted to take a few drinks, he should ask permission the day before, so that his place might be taken by someone else. In this way, it would at least be known that an employee was not staying away because he had some other job to do. All the employees and councillors accepted the proposal.

175 646 663

The council began to work and make efforts for the introduction of electrical power into the town,[*] making trips to Mexico City to interview the chiefs of the Secretariat of National Economy. Engineers were sent to the town to make studies to be submitted for the consideration of the high chiefs of this secretariat. A few months after the installation, of the municipal president, his aspirations for improvements in the town fell to earth. Before becoming president, Fulgencio Campos had many illusions about the council having plenty of funds which might be used to improve the economic situation of the inhabitants. He soon lost heart, seeing that the municipal treasury was not receiving the money that he had imagined it would. He had also been saying that the previous presidents had done nothing for their people because they did not want to, and that they became presidents in order to get drunk and to commit misdemeanors.

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Saturnino Córdova was functioning as attorney general and under-secretary of the Ministerio Público, and he was not at all qualified, for he could hardly sign his name. The municipal president proposed that it would be preferable that Córdova might better occupy the post of comptroller, changing with Fortino Lara so that the latter might become attorney general. Córdova was not opposed to this and in an act of council the change of commissions was recorded.

This council had many difficulties with the Commissariat of the Ejidos, because the

[624]

[*] In 1947, the date of my last visit to the village, Tepoztlán still had no electricity.

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175 646 663 [624] [652] latter had control of the forests. The municipal president maintained that the commissariat should not have authority in matters of forestry. There was a certain amount of hatred between them, though not declared. The council was seeking funds to meet the outstanding expenses which were incurred within the municipal administration. Seeing that there were no sources of revenue, the council voted to call together on a certain day all the charcoal makers and to ask them for their cooperation; that is, that they should give one day's work to cut down trees and cut them into logs, so that they might make charcoal kilns for the benefit of the council, and that the profits from those kilns would go into the municipal treasury.

All agreed to accept and to meet on the appointed day in the appointed place to cut the trees. The charcoal makers only cut about ten trees, which yielded little money for the council's purposes. There was nothing to do about it but give in, because only enough [652] money came of it to pay the person who watched over the furnace when it was burning. The municipal president despaired more than ever, because he saw that the money coming into the municipal treasury was barely enough to pay the few miserable salaries of the township employees. Not even the police could afford three men to keep watch over the peace.

The municipal president did not give up. He wanted to follow faithfully what he had promised. He began to work to improve the public market, soliciting federal aid. When it came to the ears of the dwellers in the town that there was a question of building the market, some of them immediately went to the municipal president's office; they made it clear that if such a market were to be completed, their properties in that vicinity must be respected. The municipal president demanded documentation to substantiate the true ownership of the small pieces of land which were within the property belonging to the township. Most of them presented their documents, and they reached a settlement that it would be preferable to pick the property by lot, in agreement with the owners. And, together with the council, they would finish the rooms which would be used for trade. As was said before, all this reached the stage of study but nothing more was ever done.

About the month of August of the second year of his administration, Fulgencio Campos admitted that he was failing in his intention to bring about some improvement [367] for the town. He decided to play his last card and pave the public gardens. This time he [653] interviewed not the civil authorities but the military. It happened at the time that federal workers were within the township breaking stone for the highway. Campos interviewed the chief of the military zone and set forth all the reasons for his aspirations and his desire to leave some work for his people. The military chief agreed that a few of the trucks which were being used to carry stone for the highway should be left at the municipal president's office so that they might be utilized in the paving of the public gardens. The trucks arrived right away, and the council tried to raise funds to pay for the sand and cement. The council agreed that the work should be completed after the end of the rainy season; that is, about the month of October, so that the rains would not slow up the work of the paving.

175 646 682 The day of the national celebrations, that is, the sixteenth of September, the comptroller, Saturnino Córdova, who was commissioned to list the animals at the slaughterhouse, got drunk with some friends. Most of his acquaintances were men in the meat business.

On the seventeenth it was learned that Córdova had disappeared and could not be found anywhere. About five in the afternoon a woman reported a corpse in a ravine near

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[1941-1942]

the municipal slaughterhouse. The authorities took the corpse to the Town Hall for identification, because birds of prey had already mutilated the face and part of the body. The investigations began, and finally it was known that Córdova had been murdered inside the slaughterhouse and his body thrown into the ravine.

At that time there was also an investigation going on in the office of the under-secretary of the Ministerio Público for cattle stealing. It was discovered that the lost animals had been slaughtered in the municipal slaughterhouse, and that the animals had been stolen by the same persons who had murdered Córdova because he was trying to discover the thieves. The council aided Córdova's family with burial and what was necessary to settle a few other expenses. The council proceeded to call the alternate for the comptroller's office, to take charge of the post which Córdova had been filling.

In a short time the cement necessary for the paving of the public gardens was bought. Only half of the job could be done, and this only with the councillors giving a part of their pay. An additional sum of fifty pesos, which had been given by a woman toward the pipe line for drinking water, also went into the paving of the public gardens and the fixing of benches. The president, on leaving his post, got into a suit over this fifty pesos, the people said he had stolen it.

ADMINISTRATION OF 1943–44

On the first of January, 1943, the only candidates who had taken part in the elections of the first Sunday in December were inaugurated: Municipal President, Emilio Martínez; Comptroller, Benito Vargas; and Attorney General, Carlos Quiroz. In the first council meeting they decided to increase the taxes of the township for the purpose of town improvements. All those who take office as presidents are always eager to improve their town. The council in agreement with the Commissariat of the Ejidos, who had some funds for the development of the forests, took those funds and bought the necessary cement and sand to finish the paving of the public gardens. And the work was finished in a few weeks.

There came a fiesta at which people drank too much, and as this municipal president, Emilio Martínez, had many friends, who were constantly inviting him to have a drink, he drank all that day. When evening came and it was getting dark, he was completely drunk. Upon getting into the bus he met another man who was also far gone, and they started a commotion. They went from words to blows and from blows to kicks. When Martínez saw the other man stretched out, he began to kick him until his relatives and the police intervened. Of course, the man was taken to jail, and although he had received the blows from Martínez, he was fined five pesos.

Martínez had a son who was completing his military service. In a short time stories began to circulate to the effect that young Mexican men were going to be sent to war, which was then at its height. Undoubtedly they hinted this to Martínez. According to the story they tell, he organized a band of bad fellows, and on the Sunday when his son was en route to the barracks this band attacked the vehicle in which he was riding. Martínez claimed that his son had been kidnapped by bandits, but the matter did not end there. The state governor gave orders to the chief of the judicial police, and one day when Martínez was in the city he was apprehended and taken to the state penitentiary at the disposition of the governor of the state. As soon as the other members of the council learned that Martínez was being held in prison, they called the comptroller, as was provided in the law, to take the office of municipal president for seventy days. The comp

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[1943-1944]

175 646 661 troller accepted gladly because from the beginning he had wanted to be president. In a few days Martínez was freed, and when he returned to the president's office, the comptroller was forced to resign. The alternate comptroller, Froylan García, was called up to take the office.

The attorney general for some reason or other began to quarrel with Martínez, gradually drawing away from him even in the negotiations which involved both their offices. It reached the point where the attorney general undertook obligations without informing the municipal president. This deepened the rift still more. The attorney general began to hurl charges at Martínez availing himself of the support of some citizens who were his adherents.

When this reached the ears of the state government, Martínez and the other councillor were called on for explanations, but it turned out that they could not prove the charges they were making. On the contrary, the attorney general and his supporters suffered a call from the government to appear. It did not end there.

[316] At that time citizens were taking stone out of the quarry, and the attorney general alleged that the president was charging for the extraction of the stone and keeping the money. Because of this the split became even deeper, until finally the attorney general hardly ever went to the municipal president, but contented himself with carrying on his affairs in the lower tribunal. He tried to win the friendship of the comptroller so that there would be a majority against the municipal president, but as there were occasions when there were things which were damaging to the comptroller, he could not come to terms with the attorney general but continued faithful to the municipal president. Those 175 646 653 two councillors, together with a few enthusiastic citizens, tried to form a committee to bring about the construction of a school in the town. They could get together only a small fund because at that time the president of Mexico had already ordered the construction of the present school, through the diligence of Angel Bocanegra. That was the end of the labors of the committee formed by the council and other citizens; they had succeeded in getting together barely 250 pesos which have remained in the power of the comptroller up to the present time.

[312] When the dry season arrived, and drinking water began to be scarce everywhere, the council decided to improve or level the piping which brought water to the town. The council succeeded in getting together many people who willingly lent themselves to improving the pipe line. They asked for help from a man who was the manager of the Bank of Mexico, who collaborated by buying some pipes which the council needed. As the 175 attorney general saw that he had not succeeded in discrediting the president, he decided to complain to the office of the attorney general of the state, so that the president would be 646 judged for all the crimes which, according to the attorney general, he had committed. 661 After trying every means to harm the municipal president without success, the attorney general presented his resignation. It was accepted right away, and the alternate for the position was called immediately. The people of the town had grumbled about the outgoing attorney general because, when he was sitting in judgment on a case, he almost always used vulgar words to call attention to the delinquents.

175 646 665 666 The council, which was about to finish its term, began to think about its successor. Each member tried to leave a friend in office, using every means possible so that he might remain. The municipal president held conferences with some friends of his in the town and in the other towns. Again the town was divided into three parties; some belonged to the party of the council and its candidates, others were led by Vicente Campos, and

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[1943-1944] 175 646 665 666

others by Federico Campos, aided by the Fraternales. The municipal president took up this problem with the governor of the state, with the deputy for the district, and with the president of the political party, but nothing was gained. After the legal elections, all the candidates came out null and void. The state government intervened in the matter and appointed the municipal council. This council, made up of completely different persons, was to take office on the first of January like a legally elected council.

ADMINISTRATION OF 1945–46

On the first of January, 1945, the appointed municipal council was installed, consisting of J. Guadalupe Ortega, Miguel Ríos, and Fortino Guzmán, in place of all the candidates who had set out to occupy the municipal offices. This council was pledged to send out within ninety days the summons for new elections to form the council which was to officiate during this same period. On the first of April, the candidates who were supported by the Fraternales—that is, Federico Campos as president, Domingo G. Alvarado as *regidor de hacienda*, and Juan Z. Rodríguez as attorney general—were installed. After having taken office, they proceeded to notify all the important people to take notice, also other friends whom they had in Mexico City.

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Before coming to power, Federico Campos had counted on some adherents, among whom were some persons of moderate culture. But since he did not listen to their counsel he achieved nothing but hatred. These persons had proposed that he should improve the water system, a matter of great importance to the town. After the labors of experts, and efforts on all sides, Campos succeeded in getting the governor to sign a contract with the Secretariat of Health and Social Work to complete the work which was so much desired.

At the same time, the matter of obtaining electricity was discussed in an interview with the secretary of national economy, who ordered that additional studies should be made concerning the matter. Later they had an interview with the president of Mexico, who gave orders to the secretary of national economy. After all the efforts made in the different departments, the federal election of new officers gravely harmed the works completed. Since there was a complete change in the government, they declared that all the work was useless because it was necessary to have new studies made by the new officials.

With this, Campos lost heart completely, and he limited himself to expediting the matters in his office. Furthermore, since the other villages of the township knew that Campos was trying to improve the villages, others approached him for aid in the matter of bringing drinking water to their people. When the municipal president, or rather the council, saw that the villages were also interested, they tried to unite in order to bring about an adequate water system for all, and on one occasion they interviewed the authorities of another township which had a sufficient water supply to make additional outlets possible. The negotiations were successful, but this township was a considerable distance away, and much capital was required to purchase the materials needed to bring in the water. When the estimates were made, the sum was fantastic in relation to the economic possibilities of the villages.

175 646 658

This council also tried to improve the town by aiding in the literacy campaign. Since the adults, who did not know how to read or write, refused to study, the council visited all the villages of the township and named the sub-committees, just as an extension of the committee of four hundred working in the municipal seat. Campos tried to raise funds to pay the teachers at the literacy centers. When people refused to contribute or to attend classes, he acted in accordance with the law and punished those who did not comply

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[1945-1946]

175 646 658 But as there are always people who try to interfere with the work of the individual in charge, these people got together and complained to the government of the state. They declared that they were being charged large sums, and that the money was being taken by the municipal president for himself. In view of this, Campos was suspended and called before the governor of the state, to render an account of the funds collected. The governor of the state later realized that these charges were merely calumnies with which the people were trying to discredit the municipal president.

175 646 [624] This council did not work in harmony with the Commissariat of the Ejidos, since they were of opposing parties. Because of this, the Commissariat of the Ejidos tried to usurp some properties of the township, such as the textile workshops, which are almost on the edge of the town. It was on this account that Campos, seeing that this was wrong, tried to oppose them. He also opposed them in the matter of the communal forests, which, though owned by the town, were being managed by the Commissariat of the Ejidos.

During this administration they also held the inauguration of the school which had been built by the request of Angel Bocanegra. Of course, there had to be high personages present, among them the president himself. The council tried to get together some funds for the inauguration, proceeding immediately to print coupons for sale to the citizens. The governor of the state learned of this and, as the state government had taken on itself the matter of the inauguration, he ordered that the funds which had been collected in the town should be refunded to each of the contributors.

On one occasion when the governor was to speak on the matter of the inauguration, the municipal president was not to be found in the town, and this was sufficient reason for the governor to become very angry. Speaking with the enemies of the council, he declared to them that they were authorized to impeach Campos and all the other members of the council and to set others in their places, who would know how to take care of the administration of a town. Some people wished to do this, but others decided that it was preferable that Campos should continue.

On the day of the inauguration of the school, Campos pinned a medal on Angel Bocanegra, calling him "favorite son of this town," and he also pinned another medal on the governor. [666] When this council finished its term, it also tried to elect its candidate for the municipal presidency. He was an intimate friend, but he could not win because of being from another township.

SUMMARY

The above account gives some insight into the behavior of politicians and touches upon some of the salient aspects of political life in the village. (See Fig. 48.) These might be summarized briefly as follows:

631 642 [666] (1) According to the law of the state of Morelos, municipios are to be free and autonomous political and administrative units. In practice we have seen that this is not the case. Rather, the municipio appears to be no more than an administrative dependency of the governor. It is he who resolves conflicts and makes most of the important decisions for the municipio, including the determination of who shall be the successful candidate. The incident cited above, whereby the president arranges with the opposition group in Tepoztlán to depose the president because the latter did not happen to be in the village when the governor made an unexpected call, is indicative of his arbitrary action.

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religion: 11

At the time of the Spanish Conquest Tepoztlán had been under the domination and influence of the Aztecs for about one hundred years, and had absorbed much of Aztec culture. Tepoztecans paid homage to Aztec gods and practiced the Aztec rites of human sacrifice. But before the conquest by the armies of Tenochtitlán, Tepoztecans worshipped the more benign gods of the Toltecs which did not involve human sacrifice. As late as 1580, Tepoztecans still conserved the memory of this pre-Aztec period. This is learned from the oft-cited *Relación de Tepuztlan* of 1580, containing the following passage on Tepoztecan religion:

> That anciently they made offerings to their gods, of paper, quail, wild pigeons and copal, until the Mexicans came; then they observed their customs. When they went to war they cut through the heart [of prisoners] and offered them to their gods; they [the prisoners] belonged to those who had captured them. When it began to thunder and they wanted rain they bought two or three small children, took them to a high peak, and when it began to rain and thunder they tore out the heart and the blood was offered to the rains so that it would rain much; for this purpose they would first keep the bought children for thirty or forty days; in the case of an adult, on the day he was sacrificed they dressed him very well and they led him singing and dancing unto where the idol stood and there, having invited many neighboring villagers, since it was a great fiesta, they drank and slit open his breast and tore out the heart and the blood and offered him to the gods; and they threw the body down below and later they cut up the body and offered pieces of it to the warriors.[1]

Here we find a description of a typical Aztec ceremony very similar to the description by Sahagún. This indicates that the rain god, Tlaloc, and the war god, Huitzilopochtli, were worshipped in Tepoztlán before the Conquest. To the first, children were sacrificed; to the second, adults.

But Tepoztlán also had its own special cult of Ometochtli (Two Rabbits), the god of pulque (Fig. 49) whose fame extended throughout the Aztec empire. Indeed, Tepoztlán was a very important religious center during this time. A sixteenth century Dominican chronicler tells us that Ometochtli was a

[1] *Relación*, p. 241.

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Fig. 49. Ancient god of pulque.

. . . famous idol celebrated by this entire kingdom and visited by the foreigners who made pilgrimages to it and offerings which they carried from the kingdom of Chiapas and Guatemala.[5]

[773] The discovery of pulque, the popular intoxicating drink of the Aztecs, is attributed by legend to El Tepozteco, a Tepoztecan culture hero who was later worshipped as a god. In certain seasons of the year the cult of Ometochtli had all the characteristics of a collective orgy, celebrated in a feast called Pilhuana, at which children were intoxicated. The Codex Magliabecchiano of Florence describes it as follows:

This is the figure of a great god of intoxication that a town which is called Tepoztlán had as its rite; when a drunken Indian died the others of the town made a great feast carrying copper axes with which they cut the wood.[6]

THE COLONIAL PERIOD

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The story of the conversion of Tepoztecans to Catholicism is still conserved in village legend, and the following version was given us by a conservative and aged

[5] M. F. Agustín Dávila y Padilla, *Historia de la Fundación y Discurso de la Provincia de Santiago de México*, 2nd ed. (Brussels, 1625), p. 617.

[6] *Estado de Morelos. Estudios Histórico—Económico—Fiscales Sobre los Estados de la República* (México, Secretaría de Hacienda), II (1939), 42.

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fused old Aztec concepts with those of the Catholic Church. His figure is also confused with the god, Ometochtli, so that today he is known as El Tepozteco, god of the wind and son of the Virgin Mary. For Tepoztecans the Catholic Trinity is viewed as a combination of three distinct gods, and the cross is a magical symbol which has no relation to the death of Jesus. Tepoztecans continue to fear omens, evil spirits, and *los aires*. When they are in dire need of rain they pray to El Tepozteco for aid.

The growth of Catholicism and the church in Tepoztlán was rapid. When the first mass baptisms of the Tepoztecans occurred, no priests resided permanently in Tepoztlán, but a few years later the natives began to petition for the construction of a church in the town, since they did not want to be dependent upon the services of the priests from Yautepec or Oaxtepec. We do not know the exact date of the construction of the first church in Tepoztlán. However, in the *Relación* of 1580 we are told that the church had already been established:

> There is in this village a monastery of Dominican friars with three friars who administer the sacraments and that at the beginning they did not have any priest in this town and that they came from Yautepec and Guaxtepeque to baptize and confess the people, and that in the time of the Viceroy Luis de Velasco they asked for priests since many had died without confession and without baptism and so it was ordered that a monastery be built and the village did so at its own cost.[4]

Since the Viceroy Luis de Velasco was in office from 1550 to 1564, it must be supposed that the construction of the Tepoztecan church began during that time.

The Dominicans in Tepoztlán, while occupied in carrying out the administrative measures of the viceroy and in arousing in the natives respect for the Spanish authorities, also attempted to extirpate all pre-Hispanic cults. The Dominicans were especially vigorous in their attacks upon the native priests whom they regarded as witches, and upon the ancient idols which were instruments of the devil. One of their first objectives was to destroy the great image of Ometochtli, situated at the top of a mountain overlooking the village.[5]

Father F. Domingo de la Anunciación ordered the idol hurled over the cliff to show the natives that it could be smashed, hoping thus to destroy their faith in the power of the god. Despite the great height from which the idol fell, it remained intact. However, with the aid of prayers, exorcisms, and large hammers, the priests managed to break the stone.

According to our informants, when the idol fell it made a terrible noise which put fear into the spectators. When it did not break, alarm spread among the Indians and many would have defended their god had it not been for the presence of Spanish soldiers. After the destruction of the image, Tepoztecans lived in fear of the vengeance of the god. Tradition has it that Ometochtli ran through the streets at night crying and bemoaning the fate of the Tepoztecans at the hands of the con-

[4] *Relación*, p. 245.

[5] Remains of the temple and the stairway still exist in Tepoztlán, and attract many tourists.

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queror. His words were not threats but sad laments, "Oh, my sons, they have taken you out of my hands and I cannot help you. . . . Oh, you poor things, that I see you outside of my palace and my abode."[6]

The Indians heard his voice, and in fear went to Father Domingo de la Anunciación, saying that as a true father he should help his sons. He told them it was the work of the devil who, having lost, was now trying to frighten them away from the road of salvation. The Father advised the Indians to make the sign of the cross when they again heard the voice and thus to dispatch the devil.[6] The priests then placed large wooden crosses at every pathway leading to the village to keep out the god. The natives no longer reported hearing Ometochtli, but they continued to believe that he comes to the village when some calamity threatens.

The fight to eliminate aboriginal beliefs and practices continued. In an account of a Dominican priest in the late sixteenth century we learn of another incident:

> The demon was well entrenched in Tepoztlán, recognized by various kings and aided by great deceit and as a haughty man he very much resented his fall. This town had had great idols and the fame of its doctors was due to the fact that the demon had taught them the virtue of herbs so that they could deceive the rest of the people and even today despite the great care of the priests there still are found survivals of their communication with the demon as happened in my presence during this year of 1592 in the month of May.[7]

The incident referred to was as follows: The governor of Tepoztlán dedicated himself to the production of lime, burning the stone in a temporary oven; usually two days after the stone was burned, the lime was ready for use. But then it happened that despite all the burning and the passing of many days, the required lime was not produced. The governor, "who was an Indian of good understanding," suspected that it was due to some type of sorcery and he complained to the Dominicans, pointing out an Indian as the possible author of the sorcery. The Dominicans took this matter very seriously. They called in the accused, frightened him, and forced him to confess to the deed, saying that his father had given him an oration written on paper with which he could conjure at will the forces of the demon. The Dominicans immediately tried to exorcise the kiln and the stones, calling the villagers around so that they could be duly impressed by the power of the Virgin of the Rosary, to whom an invocation was made during the rites.

On the following day the rock was burned and the lime was produced. The Indian who was accused of witchcraft was punished, leaving the natives as amazed by his powers as a witch, as by the superior power of the priests. The Dominican author of this account observed that the demon had good reason to cry for having been displaced from among people over whom he had had such great influence. Even after seventy years of having been baptized into another faith, they still had pacts with him.

Slowly the Dominicans, like other religious orders in Spanish America, gathered

[6] Dávila y Padilla, *Historia*, pp. 617-18.
[7] *Ibid.*

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the natives into religious associations which facilitated the administrative and political functions of the colony.

Cofradías (brotherhoods) and *gremios* (societies) were organized under the auspices and protection of a saint. A *mayordomo* and other officials were chosen from among the *principales* and loyal supporters of the Crown. The system of *cofradías* had the following functions: (1) it facilitated formation of other organizations, such as cults of particular saints; (2) it simplified the collection of religious taxes; (3) it supplemented local police and helped seek out delinquents, escaped slaves, and others; (4) it aided in the collection of tribute; and (5) it provided extra companies of troops in times of emergency.

The church, united as it was with the state, became very strong. Church personnel were numerous and were paid from public funds. High public officials were obliged to preside over all religious processions and ceremonies. Religious fiestas, which greatly increased church income and stimulated local trade, became very numerous during the colonial period.

THE EPOCH OF INDEPENDENCE TO THE FALL OF THE DÍAZ REGIME

The first years of Mexican independence from Spain passed almost unnoticed in Tepoztlán, where life changed very little. The church, aided by the guarantees of the plan of Iguala, continued to be united with the new state without any major changes in its organization. As a matter of fact, after being liberated from the colonial tribute, Tepoztecans were subject to an even greater tribute by the church in the form of the forced collection of the *diezmo*, a tax whereby Tepoztecans had to pay one-tenth of their produce to the church.

The first great change in the religious life of Tepoztlán occurred during the reform period of Juárez, when church and state were separated and church property confiscated. Until this time the church in Tepoztlán, as in most of Mexico, was the institution that stood for the status quo. After Juárez, the church became an aggressive force struggling against the state and became involved in the so-called Wars of the Reform, fighting against the liberal orientation of the Mexican government. While we have little specific data for Tepoztlán on this point, it may be assumed that the village was also affected and that some Tepoztecans worked through church associations against the government while others participated in the liberal ranks of the victorious party of Benito Juárez. Later, during the struggle against the Emperor Maximilian, who was blessed by the Pope and had the aid of the church, we know that liberalism had penetrated into Tepoztlán, for one of Tepoztecan's sons, General Prisciliano Rodríguez, organized a column of Tepoztecans and fought heroically against invading French troops. The church had indeed lost much of its old power.

The economic revolution brought about by the amortization of the wealth of the church produced a new oligarchy which, under President Díaz, again delivered itself into the arms of the church. In Tepoztlán the new upper class, the

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caciques, united the church and state and supported the church as a strong conservative force. During this period the church recuperated much of its former glory and once more, pompous religious fiestas were celebrated in the village. The church, the *caciques*, and the merchants all benefited by the increase in religious activity. Attendance at fiestas was very large and public officials were present. As some of our informants said, "Formerly, the people participated in religious fiestas much more than today because they believed attendance was compulsory. No one dared to miss church after they had been visited by an official and told to attend."

Not only did the public attend religious ceremonies but they spent much money on fireworks, candles, music, flowers, and so forth. An informant compared present religious participation with that during the Díaz regime as follows:

> In the religious ceremonies it was common to have large processions which consisted in carrying the saints through the streets and all believers followed with their candles and prayers. Today we no longer burn artificial *juegos* as formerly. Today the citizens no longer sacrifice as much to make a good barrio fiesta. Formerly they had as many as three or four bands of dancers. Today only a few barrios send a band of dancers to the fiestas.

During the Díaz period, religious taxes were collected as they had been in colonial times, that is, by the *huehuechiques*, who went from house to house asking for the contribution. Today this custom is almost gone; *huehuechiques* function only in the barrios of Santa Cruz and San Sebastián.

Participation in fiestas was claimed as a public service by the local government. The president ordered citizens to do certain tasks or play certain roles on pain of fine or other punishment. For example, we were told of one president:

> He commissioned eight or ten men to go to the mountains of Acaloqua and Calencuahiuchuy, both distant from Tepoztlán, to cut palms for the celebration of Palm Sunday since these palms could not be obtained from nearby areas. The men were not paid for the work, which was considered very difficult. The *caciques* received the best palms so that they might march in the procession.

The president also named commissions to collect flowers and adorn the temple. On Holy Thursday the president appointed men to play the role of the Jews. These men had to provide themselves with special suits and a long cape and mask. They had to rise at 2:00 A.M. to collect the images for the procession. This role had been very unpopular during the colonial period, not only for what it symbolized but because the villagers shouted insults and even spat at them. However, later the symbolism was forgotten, and the "Jews" were invited into the homes of those who had the images to be collected and were given *champurrado* and *semita* to eat.

Despite the Constitution of 1857 which specifically imposed separation of state and church, there was much fusion of the two at the time of Díaz. In Tepoztlán the president and councilmen attended Mass and the *rosario* in a body on January first, and after receiving the blessings of God held the first session of the year. On Ash Wednesday again all the local officials, the judges, and their employees re-

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ceived the ashes together in a special place set aside in the church. The apportionment of the ashes was done in a hierarchal order for the entire population, first the high functionaries, next the *caciques* and their wives, then the assistant functionaries, and finally the townsmen. In another distribution, ashes were given to those from neighboring villages, then to individuals from more distant villages, and finally to all latecomers.

Despite the increased importance of the church at this time some Tepoztecans, without giving up their faith, had developed a critical attitude toward the church. While most remained passive and docile, by the time the Revolution began many Tepoztecans were ready to join the struggle against the church and state.

THE REVOLUTION

The coming of the Mexican Revolution severely disrupted the religious life of Tepoztlán. The priest and the *caciques*, the strongest supporters of the church, fled for their lives and religious activity came to a standstill. The church and chapels were abandoned, the ancient monastery became troop headquarters and stables, and soldiers camped in the churchyard. Church and municipal archives were reduced to ashes, the sacred communion cups disappeared, cloaks were taken from the holy images to cover the wounded. For weeks at a time the local population had to live in the hills to avoid being killed. As an informant put it, "Who could think of religion in those days?"

After many bitter years peace was slowly established, and "since man cannot live without religion, for it makes him bad," once again the people began to think of the church.

In 1920, when the fighting was about over, an incident occurred which greatly stimulated religious life. At that time there was a drought in Tepoztlán and the surrounding area and the crops were severely threatened. In the same year, according to our informants, El Tepozteco returned to Tepoztlán. He appeared to a peasant from Yautepec who was on his way to Tepoztlán. The mythical figure no longer wore his ancient dress but was dressed as a humble peasant in white shirt and *calzones* and broad-brimmed Zapatista sombrero, and with a handkerchief tied around his neck in typical local fashion.

El Tepozteco spoke to the peasant, saying, "Go and tell my village that I am very angry because they have my mother (the Virgin of Natividad) naked and that is why I have not wanted it to rain. They must buy her a crown and a tunic of silk and satin and then I will send abundant rain."

Then he mysteriously disappeared and the man from Yautepec hurried to Tepoztlán to tell what had happened. When the news had spread through the village, some of the *mayordomos* of the old *cofradías* took it upon themselves to collect money to buy the clothing and adornment for the Virgin. A few days later, according to Tepoztecans, it began to rain and the crops were saved.

With the help of this incident the more pious people sought to re-establish the church and return to their former religious practices. The village priest, Padre Pedro

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Another widow told her two sons that their father was a *político*, and that they lost their inheritance because he wasted his time and money. 593 [769]

When the question of administering a Rorschach test to one husband came up, his wife laughed and, in the presence of her eight children, said that her husband was very ignorant and would not do well. "He doesn't even know how to read," she remarked.

In a few cases, when the mother has a true admiration for her husband, particularly if he is better educated, she will transfer this to her children. For example, the wife of the village secretary, who is widely respected for his fine hand and ability to type, has taught her children to look up to their father as a *sabio* (wise man). It is, however, more common for mothers to instill fear of the father rather than respect for his positive personal qualities.

It is interesting to compare our description of the role of the mother and father in Tepoztlán today with Sahagún's description of parental roles, as obtained from his Aztec informants shortly after the conquest. The role of the father was described as follows: 175 593

> The father is the prime root and originator of the family. The quality of the father is to be diligent and careful, who, with his perseverance rules his house and sustains it. The good father raises and supports his children and gives them good training and doctrine, scolds them and gives them good advice and good examples and makes a treasure for them and guards it; keeps account of the expenditures of the house and rules his children's spending and foresees things in advance. The nature of the bad father is to be lazy, careless, idle, who cures no one, who out of laziness leaves undone that which he is obliged to do; and loses time to no purpose.[2]

This description might well apply to the present-day Tepoztecan concept of the role of the father, with two important exceptions: The Tepoztecan father is not expected to train or teach his children. The Tepoztecan father does not keep the family accounts, and he rules his children's spending in a limited way. The father, as described by Sahagún, is a more truly patriarchal figure than the present Tepoztecan father.

The mother's role was presented by Sahagún as follows:

> The quality of the mother is to have children and to give them milk; the virtuous mother is vigilant, an active caretaker, solicitous, anxious. She raises her children, has continual care of them; she sees that they lack nothing, she is like a slave of all in her house, concerned with the needs of each; she is not careless with necessities of the house; she saves, is industrious and is a hard worker. The bad mother is foolish, dirty, stupid, sleepy, lazy, wasteful, improvident, careless of the house, allows things to be lost out of laziness or anger, doesn't cure those of the house; doesn't look out for household things; doesn't correct the errors of those of the house and for this reason every day gets worse. There are among such persons legitimate children and bastards.[3]

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[2] Bernardino de Sahagún, *Historia General de las Cosas de Nueva España*, ed. Pedro Lobredo, III (Mexico, 1938), 11.

[3] *Ibid.*

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175 593 Tepoztecans tend to view mothers in similar terms, but do not emphasize the mother as a slave of all in her house. Rather, in the hierarchal set-up, she serves her husband, but her daughters and younger sons work for her to whatever extent she may demand.

Sahagún's description of the good son and daughter, though limited, still applies today in Tepoztlán. He describes them as follows:

> The son of good quality is obedient, humble, grateful, reverent, imitating his parents in custom and in body; he is similar to his father and mother. . . .
>
> The daughter who is raised in her father's house has these good qualities; she is a true virgin, never having known a man; she is an obedient, modest, prudent, capable, genteel woman, honorable, respectful, well-raised, who knows the doctrine, taught by a careful, informed person.[4]

The only exception to be made for Tepoztecans is the attitude of reverence in the son. Reverence and awe on the part of the children toward their parents is not demanded and is notably absent. It is interesting to note that the daughter "who is raised in her father's house" is a true virgin. In Tepoztlán, it is believed that a girl who has no father to fear or to protect her is more likely to have lovers or to be attacked or carried off by boys.

593 [562] There is a marked difference in the quality of mother-child and father-child relations in Tepoztlán. It is a stereotype that fathers are "harder" and mothers "softer" by nature. It is considered natural for the mother to feel closer to the children than the father. The mother who abandons her children is considered abnormal or *machorra* (like a man). It is more common for a man to desert his children and, although it is disapproved, it is not considered abnormal, for "that is the way men are." It is also taken for granted that children feel closer to the mother, and that they will be more disturbed at losing her. It is recognized, too, that the death of the mother is more disruptive to the household than the death of the father.

The relationship between father and child is one of respect and avoidance of intimacy. The unvarying role of the father results in consistent behavior toward him on the part of the children. They are always obedient, subdued, controlled, and inhibited in his presence and remain so well into adulthood. It is extremely rare to find a child who does not behave this way to his father, even though children frequently disobey their father's wishes, especially when he is not present.

Children are less consistent in their attitudes and behavior toward the mother and reflect her own varying behavior, which alternates between being protective and administering punishment, and being indulgent and strict, being authoritative and submissive, and serving and demanding service. The child's relationship with the mother is one of respect, yet it is marked by intimacy. Mothers often complain that the children are less obedient and less fearful of them than of the father, and this is attributed to the fact that the children take advantage of the mother's "softness." Children sometimes display signs of ambivalence toward the mother; expect-

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 12.